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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY

2

March

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1916

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N.B.—Throughout this number of the Journal diacritics and accented letters have been inserted as far as possible as these are not available in sufficient quantities to meet large demands.



NOTICE.

Members are requested to kindly remit to the treasurer Mr. S. Sinha, Bar.-at-Law, Bankipore, their subscriptions for the year 1916 which became due on the 1st of January, 1916. Such of the members as have not yet paid their subscriptions for 1915, are further requested to remit their arrear subscription as well.

Members are further requested to notify to the General Secretary at Ranchi any changes of their address.

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REIGN OF

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THE FIRST

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BY

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VOL. II.]

[PART I.

The Annual Presidential Address.

By His Honour Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

GENTLEMEN,

It will be convenient if I take the opportunity of our first annual general meeting to give you a brief account of the progress which has been made by the Bihār and Orissā Research Society since it came into existence a year ago. The proceedings of the inaugural meeting, presided over by Sir Charles Bayley, which was held on the 20th January 1915, have been printed in the first number of our Journal, together with the rules of the Society as finally passed by the Council.

Up to date 199 persons have been approved by the Council as members of our Society in addition to the gentlemen who joined it at the start. There are also seventeen candidates for election at the present moment, and if these are all elected, our total membership will amount to 254. This, I think, is a fairly satisfactory result for our first year.

At our inaugural meeting Mr. Sachhidananda Sinha announced his intention of presenting his valuable library to the Society, and we hoped that this generous gift would be emulated by others. This I regret to say, has not yet been the case,

and the only response we have yet had to an appeal which was made for donations for the purchase of books for our library is a donation of Rs. 100 from the Proprietor of the Aul State in Orissā, to whom our best thanks are due. We still hope that before long his example will be followed by other gentlemen of means. Books of the kind we need are expensive and we cannot expect to have a really good library unless we receive liberal contributions to supplement the income from annual subscriptions.

I am glad to be able to tell you that the result of the request which was made to Government for assistance, in accordance with the Resolution proposed at the inaugural meeting by Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, has resulted in an undertaking by Government to subscribe for a hundred copies of our Journal. This will go a good way towards meeting the expenditure on paper and printing. Owing to the difficulty experienced in finding a suitable private firm to undertake the work, the first two numbers of the Journal have been printed at the Gulzarbagh Government Press, but we hope shortly to arrange for a printer of our own. The Local Government have also made a contribution of Rs. 3,000 per annum, on the analogy of a similar grant made by the Bengal Government to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to enable the Research Society to give Rs. 250 a month to our General Secretary, Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, who would not otherwise be able to devote the requisite amount of time to his research work and other duties, especially those in connection with ethnography. There are many of our members who are in a position to add to our knowledge of this important subject. It will be the Secretary's business to get into touch with such persons, to stimulate them to action and to help them with his advice, without which they would often not know how to set to work or what information is needed.

In accordance with the decision arrived at at the Council meeting held on the 6th April 1915, the Local Government were addressed with a view to the establishment of a Provincial

Museum and Public Library. This request also was favourably received, and a small committee was appointed to visit a number of existing museums and public libraries in other provinces. The Committee's report has recently been published for criticism, and will shortly be taken into consideration. I cannot yet say exactly what the result will be, but you may take it for granted that a Museum will be established, and that, pending the construction of a suitable building, several rooms in the new Secretariat, which will not be needed by Government for some time to come, will be finished off and made available as a temporary home for the Museum and for the Research Society's library. A Provincial Coin Cabinet has already been formed, and the Government of India have agreed to place it on the list of institutions which are supplied with Treasure Trove coins. It will have precedence over all other institutions in respect of specimens from any part of Bihār and Orissā. Coins of the latter category are of special interest, as they show that, at the periods to which they belong, the people inhabiting the places where they were found had direct or indirect communication with the countries in which they were minted. Thus a gold coin of Huvishka, which was dug up recently in the Khunti subdivision and purchased for the Cabinet by our energetic General Secretary, shows that that tract, which in Muhammadan times was regarded as remote and inaccessible, probably had relations with North-West India about the second century of the Christian era. The Hon'ble Mr. Oldham has most generously presented no less than 129 coins to the Cabinet including five ancient silver punch-marked coins and one punch-marked copper coin found at Rājgir in this district. He has brought these coins with him to-day and members will no doubt be glad to take this opportunity to examine them.

We have already begun in a small way the collection of materials for the Museum. Apart from the various finds mentioned further on in this paper, Babu Saurindra Mohan Sinha of Bhagalpur has promised through the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh to

present two inscribed cannon in his possession. One of these has an inscription in Sanskrit to the effect that it was taken by the Ahom King Jayadavaja Singh, from the Muhammadans in battle in the year 1657 A. D. ; it has also two Persian inscriptions one of which, however, is said to be wholly undecipherable while the other is decipherable only in part. Nothing has as yet been made of the inscription on the 'other gun. Mr. Cobden-Ramsay, Political Agent of the Orissa Feudatory States, is engaged in making a collection for the Museum of weapons, musical instruments and other articles of ethnographic interest in use amongst the primitive tribes still found in some of those States, and our Secretary is making a similar collection of articles used by the Mundās and other tribes in Chotā Nāgpur.

I hope it will soon be possible to take steps to remove to the Museum some of the ancient carvings which lie scattered throughout the province, but this is a matter in which we must proceed warily, and only in accordance with the advice of experts. Very great harm was done many years ago by an amateur enthusiast who made a large collection of these remains without keeping any record of the places from which they were taken.

Many of our most interesting remains have already left the province. Enquiries will be made to ascertain whether it will be not possible at a reasonable cost to obtain for our Museum plaster casts of some of these, such as have already been made for other Museums.

I now turn to the Journal. I hope you will approve of the type and general get-up as settled by the Council at its meetings held on the 6th April and 18th August last, including the illustration on the cover, which is reproduced from a terracotta plaque found in the Kumrāhar excavations. Dr. Spooner tells us that this is unquestionably the oldest drawing of the famous temple at Bōdh Gāya now in existence. Dr. Spooner's account of this plaque fitly forms the first article in the first number of our Journal. The said number is, I venture to

think, an excellent one. On the Anthropological side there are six papers of which four are by our Secretary Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, whose reputation as a writer on ethnographic subjects is now well established. I trust that his contributions will stir up others to make similar studies in different parts of the province and thereby not only furnish us with interesting and useful information regarding our primitive tribes, but also provide material for the wider generalizations of professional anthropologists. Amongst the other papers I may mention an interesting contribution to early Indian chronology by Mr. Jayaswal and a suggestive essay on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri. This article is of special importance, as one of the great aims of a Society like ours should be the systematic and sustained collection of information and materials on a large scale, utilizing for the purpose the services of as many of its members as possible. The latter are for the most part amateurs and it is therefore necessary that their efforts should be guided by experts. This is, I hope, only the first of a series of papers in which hints will be given to the rank and file which will enable them to take their part in the researches which we hope to prosecute. Several well-known experts have been asked to help us in this way, and I hope that they will respond to our appeal. One thing which we very much need, as the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh has pointed out to me, is a map showing the places mentioned in the List of Ancient Monuments, the different classes of monuments, *e.g.*, Prehistoric, Buddhist, Jain, Ancient Hindu, Mediæval Hindu and Muhammadan, being distinguished by conventional marks. The map should be supplemented by a classified index which would refer briefly to the corresponding entry in the List of Ancient Monuments or other work in which information about the monument is available. It would be of great assistance if our members who have cameras would take photographs of all such monuments and send them, mounted on cards, to the Secretary. These would be very useful for the comparison of styles of architecture and similar purposes.

As an instance of the way in which sustained enquiries may lead to the discovery of facts which would otherwise remain hidden, I may mention the relics of the copper age which have already been brought to light. In the observations which I offered at our inaugural meeting I said that accident had thrown into my hands a copper axe-head from the Palāmau district, and said it was only reasonable to suppose that, if systematic search were made, similar implements might be discovered elsewhere. We have now unearthed those from various other places. In the Bassiā thānā of Rānchi no less than 21 copper celts were dug up in one place, while my friend the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. Campbell, on learning of this enquiry, said that for years past he has known of these celts, which are quite common in the Dhānbad subdivision of the Mānbhum district, but being ignorant of their true nature he had previously attached no importance to them. He says that in all 27 specimens have, to his knowledge, been found in the stretch of country between the Barākar river and the eastern spurs of the Paresnath range. Dr. Campbell sent us several of these specimens; they have been examined by Mr. Coggin-Brown who reports that they belong to the same series as those found in Palāmau and at Bassiā. Mr. Coggin-Brown's notes on the Palāmau and Bassiā celts have been printed amongst the Miscellaneous Contributions in the first number our Journal, and a note by Dr. Campbell on his Mānbhum finds will appear in the third number. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy has recently found copper axe-heads in two different places in the Khunti subdivision of the Rānchi district, and a third in a collection of mineral samples belonging to Mr. P. N. Bose, late of the Geological Survey, who picked it up some time ago near an old copper quarry at Kera in the Singhbhum district.

As you will no doubt be interested in these ancient relics I have brought a few specimens for your inspection. They will eventually find a place in the Patna Museum. The search for them will be continued; and I have no doubt that further

finds in other parts of the province will sooner or later come to light.

Another very interesting discovery, presumably of the same period, for which we are again indebted to Dr. Campbell, is the rough copper casting of a figure, apparently a monkey, which was found in the same place as several of the above celts. This also has been examined by Mr. Coggin-Brown who says :—

“ In workmanship and material it recalls what I have called the Hāzāribāgh celt type as exemplified by those rough unfinished copper celts which come from Pachamba. But I am not convinced that these things are really prehistoric, for they may be rough copies of true copper celts made at some later period. ”

I hoped to have been able to exhibit this quaint figure, but unfortunately it has not yet been received back from Mr. Coggin-Brown.

Some copper ornaments, which may possibly belong to the same period, have been discovered in the prehistoric burial grounds which I shall now proceed to mention, but before doing so I may say that Mr. Coggin-Brown has promised to give us a paper on the remains of the copper age in India. He has been obliged to put off writing it for a time owing to his services being required in Burma in connection with matters which, though perhaps less interesting to our Society, are at this juncture of the greatest practical importance, and meanwhile perhaps we may be able to make further additions to the local finds dating from that age.

The attention of our energetic Secretary Babu Sarat Chandra Roy has been drawn to the occurrence in the Rānchi district of remains of the prehistoric people known to the Mundās as “Asurs”. You are all aware of the remarkable conclusions arrived at by Dr. Spooner on the basis of his discoveries at Kumrāhar, and of the mass of evidence which he has adduced to show, not only that the architects of the buildings at that place were Persians but also that Chandra

Gupta himself, and even Buddha, belonged to the same race, together with other dynasties including that of Narak and Bhagadatta, who ruled at distant Prāggyotisha, the modern Gauhati, in Assam. These far-reaching conclusions have been contested by many in this country, where they are unpalatable to patriotic Indians. European experts are taking time to examine the data and review the position, and no doubt we shall soon begin to hear what their views are. It is not for me to venture an opinion on the merits of this controversy. I may point out, however, that even if all the above-mentioned Asurs were Persians, it does not follow that other persons so designated belonged to the same race. Nomenclature is always a very uncertain guide. For instance, the word "Hindu", which as we all know was originally applied by the early Greek invaders to the people living on the east bank of the Indus, has now come to connote millions of people whose homes are far removed from that river, and who have never had the slightest connection with that part of the country. The word "Kirāt" again is used in Sanskrit literature to denote any hill tribe, and there is no necessary affinity between the various tribes so designated. So with the word "Asur". Even if it was originally the designation of people from Persia, it is, I venture to think, probable that it afterwards came to be applied to other non-Hindu dynasties irrespective of their race. There is in fact a small Dravidian tribe of iron smelters in the Rānchi district and the eastern part of the Sarguja State who even now bear the name Asur. It is thus by no means certain that the people known to the Mundās as Asurs are of the same race as those who ruled in ancient Pātaliputra. Nor indeed is it certain that all the remains ascribed to the "Asurs" appertain to the same community. All that can at present be predicated is that they are memorials of the inhabitants of the Rānchi district before its occupation by the Mundās. Information as to the identity of the people in question can only be ascertained gradually and laboriously, if at all, by an investigation of the remains which

they have left behind them in their graveyards and elsewhere. Some brief preliminary notes on the cinerary urns found in these prehistoric burial places will be found amongst the Miscellaneous Contributions to the first number of our Journal. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy has since made a detailed investigation of several of these burial places, and his account of them will be found in the second number of our Journal. Under massive stone slabs, lying flat on the ground, are found, at a depth of a foot or so, one or more earthenware urns or *ghuras* containing human bones and, in many cases, copper ornaments and beads of copper stone or rock crystal, and sometimes a small earthenware lamp. The mouth of the urn is closed with a small earthenware bowl. Some broken fragments of one of these cinerary urns are on the table before me. You will observe that the pottery is of a superior quality, highly polished and ornamented with lines. Specimens of the copper ornaments found in them are also on the table, the most noteworthy being the scorpion shaped ear ornaments. In some of the graveyards Sarat Babu found stone celts and other relics of the stone age, from which it would seem that the sites in question were inhabited even before the age of copper, or perhaps that the stone and copper ages overlapped, and that stone implements were still in use by the people of the copper age.

It is interesting to note that the rock crystal beads found in these burial places are very similar to those often found after rain at a place near Dumka in the Santāl Parganas, which is known to the Santāls as the *Hat* (market) of the *Bongas* (spirits). The comparatively recent settlement of the Santāls probably accounts for the absence of any traditions regarding an earlier race of settlers and their consequent attribution of these beads to spirits.

The second number of our Journal has only just been issued, and I think you will agree that it maintains the high standard set by the first number, but while the first number was mainly devoted to ethnographic subjects, the second contains more papers dealing with history and archæology. Apart

from Babu Sarat Chandra Roy's paper which I have just mentioned there is a paper by Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar on Assam and the Ahoms in 1660, which is of special interest to me personally as a student of Assam history, and another by Mr. Jayaswal on Republics in the Mahābhārata. Principal Jackson describes two new inscriptions in the Barābar Hills, and Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri discusses the home of Kālidāsa.

We have not yet got all our material for the third number, but I may mention an account by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar of the old set of copper-plates which I hold in my hand and which have been presented to the Museum by the Mahārāja of the Sonpur State in Orissā. These plates were dug up in that State and Mr. Mazumdar attributes them to Yayāti Gupta a scion of the family of the Gupta Kings of Bengal, who ruled in the 11th century and who, he thinks, had his capital at the junction of the Tel and Mahānadi rivers on the site now occupied by the town of Sonpur. The same number will contain a paper by our Secretary on the occurrence of relics of the stone age in the Rānchi district, and also, I hope, the text and translation by Sir George Grierson, of the first of a collection of old dramas made by him many years ago, when he was Subdivisional Officer of Madhubani. The prose of these plays is usually in Sanskrit, and the songs are sometimes in Hindi and sometimes in the Maithili dialect. Sir George has written to me expressing his great satisfaction at the creation of our Society, and the paper just mentioned will, I hope, be followed by others from his accomplished pen.

In conclusion I would express the earnest hope that all members of the Society will do their utmost to further the objects with which it was established, and will not only endeavour to induce as many of their friends as possible to join the Society, but will also help to provide material for the Journal. There is an exceptionally wide field for research in Bihār and Orissā, owing to its diversity of races and languages, and its richness in sites of special historical and religious interest

and in archæological remains, dating back to pre-Buddhist times, and comprising relics of some of the greatest dynasties that ever held sway in India. It is true that some members may have neither the leisure nor the special knowledge requisite for elaborate papers on the subjects with which the Society deals, but there are few who will not, at one time or another, come into possession of items of information which, though too small to publish as separate papers, are yet deserving of permanent record. In this connection I would invite your attention to the section provided at the end of the Journal for Miscellaneous Contributions. This is intended, like the defunct Punjab Notes and Queries, for the systematic entry of all such notes as I have just referred to. If members will help us by contributing all the information they can, a mass of facts will by degrees be collected which cannot fail to be of great use to subsequent enquirers. For example, it is quite possible that there may be in existence elsewhere prehistoric burial places similar to those in the Rānchi district which have been briefly described above. If any of our members should be fortunate enough to light on such a burial place, a note mentioning the fact, with such details as to its locality and characteristics as he may be able to give, would be of great use for the purpose of future enquiry. The discovery of Buddhist or other old remains, of stone or copper celts, coins, etc., etc., might well be recorded in the same way. On the ethnographic side there is an even wider field for these Miscellaneous Contributions. Thus, we already have descriptions of the magic ritual followed by the Mundās and certain other tribes in order to cause rain to fall, to fertilize the soil and the like. Similar customs are no doubt in vogue amongst other tribes also; and, if so, it is of the utmost importance that they should be duly recorded. To take another instance, a traveller may happen to see an aboriginal funeral in progress, and, if so a full account of the ceremony, if not already available in print, would be most welcome. It would be equally welcome if the facts differ from those already recorded. There has

sometimes been a tendency in the past to idealize these primitive ceremonies; and I once saw one myself which differed very widely from the recorded account in the work of a writer of considerable repute.

When I was engaged on the last census of India I endeavoured to collect as full information as possible regarding the curious practice known as the *Couvade*. I found instances of it in many parts of India, but none in Bihār and Orissā. Mr. Friend-Pereira, however, has now found some apparent survivals of the practice amongst the Kui of the Khondmals and the Mālē of the Rājmahal Hills, and has sent us a note which appears amongst the Miscellaneous Contributions in the second number of our Journal. Other members living in remote parts of the province may be able to discover similar instances, and if so, and they send us notes, we may hope in time to possess full information for the whole province. Again, there was no subject regarding which, at the census, I made more persistent efforts to get full information than the occurrence of blue pigmentation on the backs of newly born children, which a learned Professor of Tokio had declared to be an unmistakable proof of Mongolian race. The results, however, were somewhat disappointing. I succeeded in showing that the pigmentation occurs in many parts of India where the people are of non-Mongolian origin, but the data were so irregular that, while in one district in which enquiry was made, the pigmentation was found on 21 children out of 29 examined, in an adjoining district it was said to have been found only on 11 out of 3,000. It is clear that far more thorough investigation is needed than was possible in connection with the census; and if any member of our Society is willing to take up the matter in the district in which he resides, we shall be only too glad to record the results in the Miscellaneous section of the Journal. The illustrations given above show how difficult, if not impossible, it is for a single enquirer in a limited time to get anything like complete information on any ethnographic subject. Such information can be gained only by means of

sustained enquiries spread over a long period of years, and for such work the agency of a Society like ours is highly suitable. If all our members make the best use they can of the opportunities that come to them there can be no doubt that our Society will fully justify the objects for which it was established.

I would specially urge junior officers of my own service to take an active part in ethnographic research. No civilian can be a really successful officer unless he understands the habits and mentality of the people of his district, and nothing will tend to such an understanding more than sustained enquiries regarding their language, manners, customs, rites and superstitions. Such enquiries moreover bring their own reward, for they give an added interest to official tours and develop one's powers of observation and mental alertness.

And now, Gentlemen, I must bring to an end these brief notes of the work done by our Society during its first year of existence, and these somewhat discursive suggestions for future action. I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me. I regret that in my present position I have not the leisure necessary to enable me to take a more active part in your researches, but I can assure you that they will always receive my most sympathetic attention, and that I will at all times do everything in my power to promote the interests of our Society and to assist it in the work which it has undertaken to do.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Traditions of the Santals.

By the Hon'ble Revd. A. Campbell, D.D.

THE traditional lore of the Santals has been handed down orally from generation to generation, and as was inevitable in the absence of written documents, there are often several versions of the same event, but it is remarkable that the main features are always present, whether the story be told on the banks of the Ganges, in the North, or in the jungles of Orissā, in the South. The following account of their traditions, which deal with the creation of the world, and the migrations, etc., of the Santals, is the result of the collation of their traditions as delivered by several Santāl sages, and the order observed in the sequence of the narrative is that supported by a majority of the most intelligent of them.

In the beginning was Thākur Jiu. There was no land visible, all was covered with water. Then Thākur Jiu's servants said to him, "How shall we create human beings?" He replied, "If it be so desired, we can create them." They then said, "If you give us a blessing (or the gift), we shall be able to do so." Thākur Jiu then said, "Go, call Malin Budhi. She is to be found in a rock cave under the water." When she came she received the order to form two human beings. Some say she made them of a kind of froth which proceeded from a supernatural being who had his residence at the bottom of the sea, but others that she made them of a stiff clay. Thākur Jiu was a spectator of what was being done. At length Malin Budhi made the bodies of two human beings, and laid them out to dry. In the meantime Singh Sādom (Day-horse) passed that way and, trampling them under foot, destroyed them. After an interval Thākur Jiu demanded of Malin Budhi if she had prepared them.

She replied, "I made them, but I have many enemies." Thākur Jiu enquired who they were, and she replied, "Who, but Singh Sādom!" Thākur Jiu then said, "Kick the pieces into the Sōrā Nāi and the Samūd Nāi." (Here the following is sung by the reciter,

"Oh! The Day-horse, Oh! The Day-horse,
The Day-horse has gone to the river Gāng,
The Day-horse has floated to the Sōrā sea,
Oh! The Day-horse.")

Thākur Jiu then said to Malin Budhi, "I again give you a blessing, go make two human beings." Having prepared them she went to Thākur Jiu who said, "Well, have you got them ready?" She replied, "They are ready, give them the gift of life." He said, "Above the door frame is the life (or spirit) of birds, do not bring that; upon the *sanga* (cross beam) is the life of human beings, bring it." So she went, but being of low stature she could not reach the *sanga*, so she brought the bird's life from above the door, and no sooner had she given it to them, than they flew up into the heavens, where they continued to course about, whether for twelve years or twelve months is doubtful. The names of the birds were Hās and Hāsin. At length the desire to breed came upon them, and they went to Thākur Jiu and said, "You gave us being, but we cannot find a place on which to rest." He replied, "I will prepare a place for you."

Living in the water were Sōle Hākō (Sole fish), Kātkōm (Crab), Lendet Kuār (Prince Earth worm), and Lendom Kuār. Thākur Jiu having called them ordered them to raise the earth above the water. Sōle Hākō said, "I will raise the earth above the water," but after repeated trials he was obliged to own his inability to do so. Then Kātkōm came, and said, "I will do it," but he also failed. Lendet Kuār then came and undertook to accomplish it. He put his head under the water, and swallowed earth which passing through him fell upon the surface of the water, but immediately sank to the bottom again. Then Lendom Kuār said, "Within the water resides Kāchim Kuār (Prince Tortoise);

if we fasten him at the four corners with chains, and then raise the earth on his back it will remain, and not fall into the water again." Having secured Kāchim Kuār with chains Lendet Kuār raised the earth on his back, and in a short time there was an island in the middle of the waters. Thākur Jiu then caused a Karam tree * to spring up, and at the foot of the Karam tree he caused Sirōm grass† to grow. He then caused Dhōbi grass‡ to spring up, after which he covered the earth with all kinds of trees and herbs. In this manner the earth became firm and stable.

Then the birds Hās and Hāsin came and alighted on the Karam tree, and afterwards made their nest among the Sirōm grass at its foot. Here the female laid two eggs, and Raghop Buār came and ate them. Again she laid other two eggs, and again Raghop Buār came and devoured them. Then Hās and Hāsin went to Thākur Jiu and informed him that Raghop Buār had twice eaten their eggs. On hearing this Thākur Jiu said, "I shall send some one to guard your eggs." So calling Jaher-erā, he committed the eggs of the birds Hās and Hāsin to her care. So well did she perform her task that the female was allowed to hatch her eggs from which emerged two human beings, a male and a female, whose names were Pilchu Hārām and Pilchu Budhi. Thākur Jiu constituted Marāng Buru (Great Spirit?) their guardian. (Here the reciter sings,

"Hāe, hāe, two human beings,
Hāe, hāe, are born in the water,
Hāe, hāe, how can I bring them up?
Hāe, hāe, where can I place them?"

"My mother gave me birth among the Sirōm grass,
My father had his dwelling at the Karam tree foot.")

Here they resided subsisting upon the grain of the grasses *Suntu bukuc* § and *Sama*,|| and Marāng Buru came

* *Adina cordifolia* Hook f. Benth.

† *Andropogon muricatus*, Retz.

‡ *Cynodon Dactylon*, Pers.

§ *Eleusine Ægyptiaca*, Pers.

|| *Panicum colonum*, Linn.

to visit them daily. When they had grown up Thākur Jiu created the Kapil cow. She had two bull-calves, and on their attaining full age, Marāng Buru one day said to Pilchu Hārām, "Make a plough." He replied, "I do not know how to make a plough." Marāng Buru then said to Pilchu Budhi, "Granddaughter, you remain at home, we are going to the forest to cut timber." On reaching the forest Marāng Buru shewed how to cut the trees, and which to cut for the separate pieces of the plough. Having accomplished this they brought the wood home. Marāng Buru then said, "Grandson, shape the different pieces of the plough, for I must leave you." The day following he came and said, "Have you completed the plough?" "Yes," he replied, "it is now finished." Marāng Buru then said, "Yoke the cattle to the plough," and when he had done so, he said, "Now plough. I must leave you again, but shall return to-morrow." Next day when he came he said, "Have you finished ploughing?" Pilchu Hārām replied, "Yes." Then said Marāng Buru, "We shall sow to-day." Pilchu Hārām said, "What shall we sow?" Marāng Buru said, "We shall sow *Iri** and *Gundli*.†" After these had been sown they asked, "What shall we sow now?" He replied, "Rice." So they sowed rice in the Gangi Jabani field. When the rice had grown somewhat Marāng Buru ordered them to weed it, which they did. The rice grew and ripened. Then Marāng Buru enquired, "Are the *iri* and *gundli* ripe?" They replied, "They are." "Is the rice ripe?" They replied "The rice is also ripe." Marāng Buru addressing the girl said, "Clean the house with cowdung, to-morrow we shall offer the first-fruits of the *iri*, *gundli*, and rice." He then left them, as was his wont. On the morrow when he came he enquired if his orders had been carried out, and being answered in the affirmative, he said to Pilchu Hārām, "Come, my grandson, let us go to bathe." After having bathed

* *Panicum frumentaceum*, Linn.

† *Panicum miliare*, Lamk.

they reaped *iri* and *gundli*. They prepared an offering of a few ears of each, and milk from the Kapil cow. Pilchu Hārām then enquired, "To whom shall I offer it?" Marāṅ Buru replied, "I know, I shall show you." So facing the East he presented the offering along with a suitable prayer.

After having performed this ceremony Marāṅ Buru said to Pilchu Hārām and Pilchu Budhi, "Reap it all, and separate the grain from the straw and chaff." When he returned next day he enquired if all had been reaped, threshed, and winnowed as he had directed. On knowing that it was so, he said to Pilchu Budhi, "Oh! Granddaughter, boil this rice, and then spread it out to dry, after which husk it." On his arrival next day he said, "Well, Granddaughter, have you husked the rice?" She replied, "I have done according to your orders." He then said, "Granddaughter, wash the floor with cowdung, and put some rice in water, and when sufficiently steeped take it out, and the Grandson and myself will go to the forest to bring *Ranu ran*."* On reaching the forest Marāṅ Buru pointed out to Pilchu Hārām the plants to dig. When they had secured sufficient for their purpose they returned.

They then washed the roots they had brought in water, and placed them in a new basket. Marāṅ Buru then ordered them to bring a leafy branch of the Sōsō tree† with which to cover the basket. He then said to the girl, "Oh! Granddaughter, take the rice out of the water, and put it into a basket to strain the water off, and then place it in the sun." Marāṅ, Buru then ordered her to make

* The root generally employed for the purpose of producing fermentation in the grain in the manufacture of rice beer is that of *Ruellia suffruticosa*, Roxb., which is known to the Santals as Chaulia. The root of another plant of the species *Plectranthus*, Nat. Order, Labiatae, is also used for the same purpose. It is said that when an extra strong brew is desired the root of *Clerodendron serratum*, Spreng, is added. This plant is known to the Santals by the name of Saram lutur, or the Sambur's ear from the resemblance the leaf bears in shape to the ear of that animal.

† *Semicarpus anacardium*, L. f.

the rice into flour, and to Pilchu Hārām he said, "Take the *ranu ran* and grind it very fine." When this had been done it was put into a new earthen pot with water, and afterwards the liquid was poured off into another vessel, and the *ranu ran* thrown away. Marāṅ Buru then directed them to make the flour into a paste with the water in which the *ranu ran* had been. When this was done he ordered them to make the paste into balls, and put them into a basket with straw. He then left them, but returned in three days.

He then said to Pilchu Budhi, "Well, Granddaughter, what is the *ranu* like now?" She replied, "It is dry." He then said, "Take the *ranu* out from the basket, and put it into an earthen pot; I will come again to-morrow, and you, Granddaughter, in the meantime prepare some rice." When he came next day he found rice husked as he had ordered. He then said, "Boil some rice, and having washed a part of the floor with cowdung, empty the rice out on it to dry."

The following morning he found the rice dry, and told the girl to bring the *ranu* balls which were in the earthen pot, and having bruised them with the wooden measure, to mix them up with the boiled rice, and then to return all again to the earthen pot, and after sprinkling a little water over it, to cover the mouth of the vessel. He then left them saying he would return in three days.

When he returned, he said, "Oh! Granddaughter, is the *handi** ready?" She replied, "Oh! Grandfather, the *handi* smells strongly." Marāṅ Buru then said, "Heat some water and pour it on the *handi*, and having done so wash the floor with cowdung while we two go to bathe." On their return from bathing Marāṅ Buru said to Pilchu Budhi, "Bring some of the *handi*, the Grandson and I will offer a libation." When the *handi* was brought he poured out a libation, and then turning to Pilchu Hārām and Pilchu Budhi, he said, "Drink the *handi*, drink

* The name given by Santals to the liquor prepared from rice, or other grains.

it all up." He then left them, and they, finding the liquor to their taste, drank deeply, and becoming intoxicated forgot they were brother and sister. They confessed to Marāṅ Buru when he visited them next day, but he assured them they had been guilty of no offence. They afterwards made themselves a rude covering from the leaves of the Bare tree.*

In course of time seven sons and seven daughters were born to them. They remained here in Hibiri Pipihri till their children grew up. About this time, some say, Pilchu Hārām and Pilchu Budhi quarrelled, and separated, others say the separation was by Marāṅ Buru's orders. However, it came about they separated, and Pilchu Hārām took the sons with him and settled in Suipur, and Pilchu Budhi took the daughters with her and went to Puipur. The young men were great hunters, killing deer, peacocks, tigers, etc. The girls were in the habit of going to the forest to gather potherbs. The two old people, knowing the direction each had taken, warned their charges against going where it was probable the one party might meet the other.

One day the seven sons went to the Surukne forest to hunt, the girls also came to the same place to gather potherbs. Having collected their herbs, the girls were amusing themselves, singing and swinging on the branches of a Chapakia Bare tree.† The young men hearing singing said among themselves, "There are human beings near." Attracted by the sound they drew near, and saw the girls under the Chapakia Bare tree. When the girls became aware of the presence of the young men they left off swinging, and began to dance a Dahar dance, and to sing:

"The ants are swarming, Mother,

On the branches of the Chapakia Bare tree,

They are swarming, Mother."

The young men then drew near to where they were dancing, and the girls invited them to join them. They accepted the invitation, and the two parties uniting began a Lagre dance.

* *Ficus bengalensis*, Linn.

† *Ficus tomentosa*, L.

They paired according to their ages, the eldest son with the eldest daughter, and so on, down to the youngest. During the dance they sang the following :—

“ Underneath the Chapakia Bare,
Mother, see the young Boibindi deer.”

Becoming tired of dancing, they went off by their pairs to the forest. As her daughters did not return as usual in the evening Pilchu Budhi was distressed and began to weep. On hearing her weeping Marāng Buru came and enquired why she was troubled. She informed him that her daughters had gone off with some young men, and had not returned. He said, “ Do not distress yourself, I shall bring your old man to you.” After a short time he did so, and the old people met again after many years’ separation. After this they removed to the Sui forest, where they all resided together.

From here they went to Haradata, and then moved on to Khōjkāman, where they were divided into the following groups or tribes in the order of the birth of the males : (1) Kisku, (2) Murmu, (3) Hembrōm, (4) Sören, (5) Hāsdāk, (6) Mārndi, (7) Tudu. Afterwards other five groups or tribes were added. They are, (8) Bāske, (9) Besrā, (10) Pauriā, (11) Core ; the twelfth, however, has been lost. (At this part of the narrative the following is sung by the reciter to a Dong air :—

In Hihiri, Mother, I was born,
In Pipihri, Mother, I saw the light,
In Haradata, Mother, I grew up,
In Khojkāman, Mother, I was sought for.)

From Khōjkāman they went to Chāe, and thence to Chāmpa, where they resided many years. Here their social distinctions or divisions were instituted. Kisku became the royal tribe under the cognomen of Kisku Rāj. The Murmus became the princely tribe, and were named Murmu Thākur. Hembrōm was ennobled, and known as Hembrōm Kuār. The Sören became the Söldier tribe, and were named Sören Sipahi. The Mārndis were appointed the king’s treasurers and stewards, and named Mārndi Kipisār.

The Tudus took to music, and received the title of Tudu Mandariya. There is no record of the offices conferred upon the other tribes preserved in the appellations they bear at the present day, although tradition records that the Bāske group or tribe were merchants or traders.

Here Fort Kōendā was built, and was the residence of the Royal House of Kisku. Fort Champa belonged to the Princely House of Murmu, and Fort Badodi to the Mārndi Kipisār. There were other forts, such as Fort Khairā, but tradition is less decided as to the tribes in whose possession they were.

About this time a great calamity overtook the race. It was almost utterly destroyed by fire from heaven. There are several versions of the tradition regarding it. Some say it occurred in Hihiri Pipihri, almost immediately after the creation of Pilchu Hārām and Pilchu Budhi. Others assign it to a later period, and mention different localities as the scene of the catastrophe. Various reasons are also given as to why the race was thus visited. Some say, it was sent by the Deity as a punishment for the sins of the people; others that two discontented members of the Mārndi tribe invoked the vengeance of Thākur upon those who had offended them. The account which places it immediately after the creation simply states the fact and avoids all reference to the causes which operated to bring it about.

The version which places this fire-flood at the earliest period is as follows :—

When Pilchu Hārām and Pilchu Budhi had reached adolescence it rained fire-rain for seven days and seven nights. They sought refuge from the burning liquid in a cave in a rock, from which when the flood was over, they emerged unscathed. Jāher-erā then came and interrogated them as to where they had been. They replied, "We were underneath a rock." The following verse completes the description :—

Seven days and seven nights it rained fire-rain,

Where were you, ye two human beings :

Where did you pass the time ?

Another variant is as follows :

At the time the different social distinctions and duties were assigned to the various tribes, it is said the Mārndis were overlooked. Two members of this tribe, by name, Ambir Singh and Bir Singh, who had their residence on Mount Hērē, learning that they and their co-tribesmen had been slighted, became incensed against those who had been more fortunate, and prayed for fire from heaven to descend and destroy them. Their prayer was answered, and one-half of the country was destroyed, and half of the population perished.

The house in which Ambir Singh and Bir Singh lived was of stone, with a door of the same material. It therefore resisted the fire which was devastating the country far and wide, and the inhabitants escaped unhurt. (At this point in the recital the following is sung to a Bāhā air :

Thou art shut in with a stone door,
 Ambir Singh, thou art shut in with a stone door,
 Ambir Singh, the country is burning,
 Ambir Singh, the country is burnt up.)

When Kisku Rāj heard of what had happened, he enquired who had done it. He was informed that it was the work of Ambir Singh and Bir Singh. He at once ordered them into his presence and enquired why they had brought such a disaster upon the people. They replied, "In the distribution of distinctions and offices all were considered but ourselves." To this Kisku Rāj replied, "Yes, yes, do not act thus, and you also shall receive an office." They then caused the fire to be extinguished. Kisku Rāj then addressing them, said, "I appoint you treasurers and stewards over all the property and possessions of all kings, princes, and nobles. All the *dhan** and rice will be under your charge. From your hands will all the servants and dependants receive their daily portion." From that time the Mārndi tribe became Mārndi Kipisār. Another variant has it that while at Khōjkāman the iniquity of the people reached

* Unhusked rice.

such a height that Thākur Jiu punished them by sending fire-rain upon the earth. Two individuals alone of the whole race escaped destruction by hiding in a cave in Mount Haradata.

About this time the chief of the house of Kisku took to himself a concubine named Sabnāērā, said to belong to the Birhor* tribe. She had a son whose name was Mādho Singh. On Mādho Singh reaching man's estate he was employed in collecting revenue. One day two persons, named Bhāt and Purhut, said to him, "Why do you work so hard, seeing you have only yourself to provide for? Why do you not get married?" Mādho Singh replied, "I am not of the same caste as they are, and no one will give me his daughter to wife." They said, "We will introduce the subject to the king and try to arrange the affair for you." They, therefore, on the first opportunity broached Mādho Singh's marriage to several members of the house of Kisku, but they rejected the proposal with scorn, and roughly handled the two for having dared to suggest a marriage between Mādho Singh and a daughter of the house of Kisku. They were greatly incensed at the treatment they had been subjected to, and vowed to have their revenge. So on meeting Mādho Singh they said to him, "It was on your account we were beaten and disgraced. They would not listen to us, so we advise you to *itut* † one of their maidens."

When it became known that Mādho Singh intended to wed one of their daughters by force, they held a consultation to decide as to what should be done. They said, "We are one people, and Mādho Singh belongs to another people; we cannot give him one of our daughters. Come let us flee the country altogether." So they made carts having the axles all of one width, and taking as much of their household goods with them as they could, they left during the night. But some of them preferred their property to their caste. So they said, "Our lives will not

* Literally jungle men. Birhors are a wandering tribe of Kolarian origin, who earn a precarious livelihood by the sale of ropes, etc., made from the fibre of *Bauhinia Vahlia*, eked out by jungle fruits, roots, etc.

† A form of marriage among the Santals in which a man forcibly weds a woman by simply marking her on the forehead with red lead, or *sindur*.

be taken, only our caste will be broken, and what is that when compared with all this wealth we are leaving behind ? ” So they remained and received the designation of Bedyā.

Those who fled went to Airē Kāindē, where they remained many years.

From Airē Kāindē they again moved on, but the Sang river which was in flood barred their way. (Here the following is sung to a Dong air :

The Sang river is in flood,
The Aser overflows its banks.)

Those who were leading crossed the Sang river without supernatural aid, but those in the rear solicited aid from the bongas * to enable them to reach the other side in safety. Beyond the Sang river they came to the Singh door and the Bahi door, which they found closed against them. Here they encountered two persons, the name of the one was Ulum Paikā, and that of the other Julum Paikā. Ulum Paikā and Julum Paikā addressing them said, “Call upon the bongas and we shall burst open the door and allow you to pass through.” They acted upon the advice thus given and Ulum Paikā and Julum Paikā breaking the doors they proceeded on their way to Bhelwā ghāt.

No legend is so widely known and popular among the Santāls as the one with which the name of Mādho Singh is connected, as it is so intimately associated with what may be aptly styled the central event in their chequered history,—that of their flight from Chāmpā. Up till then they had been ruled by one of themselves, and it is to this period that the imagination of the Santāl reverts when he feels himself trammelled by forest and rent laws, or by the thousand and one restrictions which follow in the wake of civilized government.

As the flight from Chāmpā occupies such a prominent place in the annals of the Santāls, we may be excused for giving another version of the tradition regarding it.

* The deities worshipped by the Santāls.

It is said, that in the service of the Royal House of Kisku were a number of Birhōrs, whose duty it was to provide ropes to tether the elephants and cattle. On a certain day they failed to deliver the usual supply, with the result that the elephants and cattle broke loose during the night and destroyed several fields of grain belonging to the king. In the morning when the Birhōrs knew what had occurred, they dreaded the king's anger, and packing up their goods and chattels they fled from the place. When the Santāl king was informed of the damage done to his crops, and the disappearance of the Birhōrs, he ordered an immediate pursuit, and himself took command of the party. During the flight a Birhōr woman gave birth to a child, but such was the fear which inspired the runaways that lest it should impede their movements it was simply covered with a few large leaves, and left on the roadside to its fate.

The pursuers on coming up heard its cries, and rescued it from certain death. The king having given up hope of being able to overtake the fugitives gave up the pursuit, and returned home bringing the foundling with him. The child was reared in the king's house, and received the name of Mādho Singh.

Mādho Singh on growing up showed such talent that he eventually became collector of the king's revenue, and carried a golden umbrella when moving about the country.

One day he petitioned the king to give him a Santāl maiden to wife, at the same time threatening that if his request was not complied with, he would *utut* one of their daughters. At the darbar which was called to consider this matter, it was decided that as Mādho Singh was a Birhōr he could not be allowed to intermarry with themselves. To avoid the disgrace of having one of their daughters forcibly wedded by a Birhōr they, at the suggestion of the Mārndi tribe, fled during the night, and left Mādho Singh in possession of the kingdom. A few, who preferred their worldly goods to honour, remained behind, and were known in future as Bedyā Santāls.

The first obstruction to their flight which the fugitives encountered was the Singh door. It was of solid stone and as

they could neither force it open, nor break it, they began to weep. While thus engaged they were accosted by Julum Paikā and Kāpi Karan, who said, "Call upon the bongas, and we will soon break open the stone door with our bows, and clear a passage for you." Being in great straits they were compelled to call upon these strange gods, and Julum Paikā and Kāpi Karan each struck the massive stone door with the sharp end of his bow, and shivered it to a thousand pieces. They passed through, and in a short time reached the Bahi door, which was also of stone. As with the Singh door, so with this, they could neither force it open nor break it. Here they were met by Ulum Paikā and Bhalwai Bijai, who said, "Call upon the bongas, and we will make a way for you." It was easier a second time to look for deliverance to strange gods, so they did as they were advised, and Ulum Paikā and Bhalwai Bijai struck the Bahi door with their bows with such force as to break it to pieces. They were here taught by Ulum Paikā and Bhalwai Bijai to offer sacrifices to the bongas. They sacrificed a black fowl to Marāng Buru, and a brown one to Jāher-erā, and cut ox-hides into strips, which they hung on the bushes along their line of march. They also marked the stones with *sindur* as they proceeded.

Mādhō Singh was very wroth when he knew the Santāls had decamped, and seizing his battle-axe, and taking his sword under his arm went in pursuit. Passing through the Singh door and the Bahi door he saw the strips of ox-hide on the bushes, and the signs of bonga worship in the *sindur* on the stones by the wayside. He then said, "These people have apostatised, I shall leave them to themselves and return home."

From Bhelwā ghāt they advanced to the plain of Chitri Hatup. They remained many years here and enjoyed peace and prosperity. The elders passed their time in legislating for the good of the community. The young men were employed in breaking cattle for the plough, and the maidens were to be seen dancing the Dahar dance.

The festivals sanctioned by their religion were duly observed at the proper seasons, and all social institutions, such as marriage, funeral rites, etc., were held in reverence, and all obligations connected therewith cheerfully discharged.

The water of the Sōnāe Sōkrā and the Kērē Spring having failed, they were under the necessity of moving on again. Turi pōkhōri and Bāhā bāndelā* lay in the way and had to be crossed. This was done by spreading lotus leaves on the surface of the water, on which they passed over without wetting the soles of their feet. They then reached Murup godā.

From Murup godā they once more moved on and came to Amber.

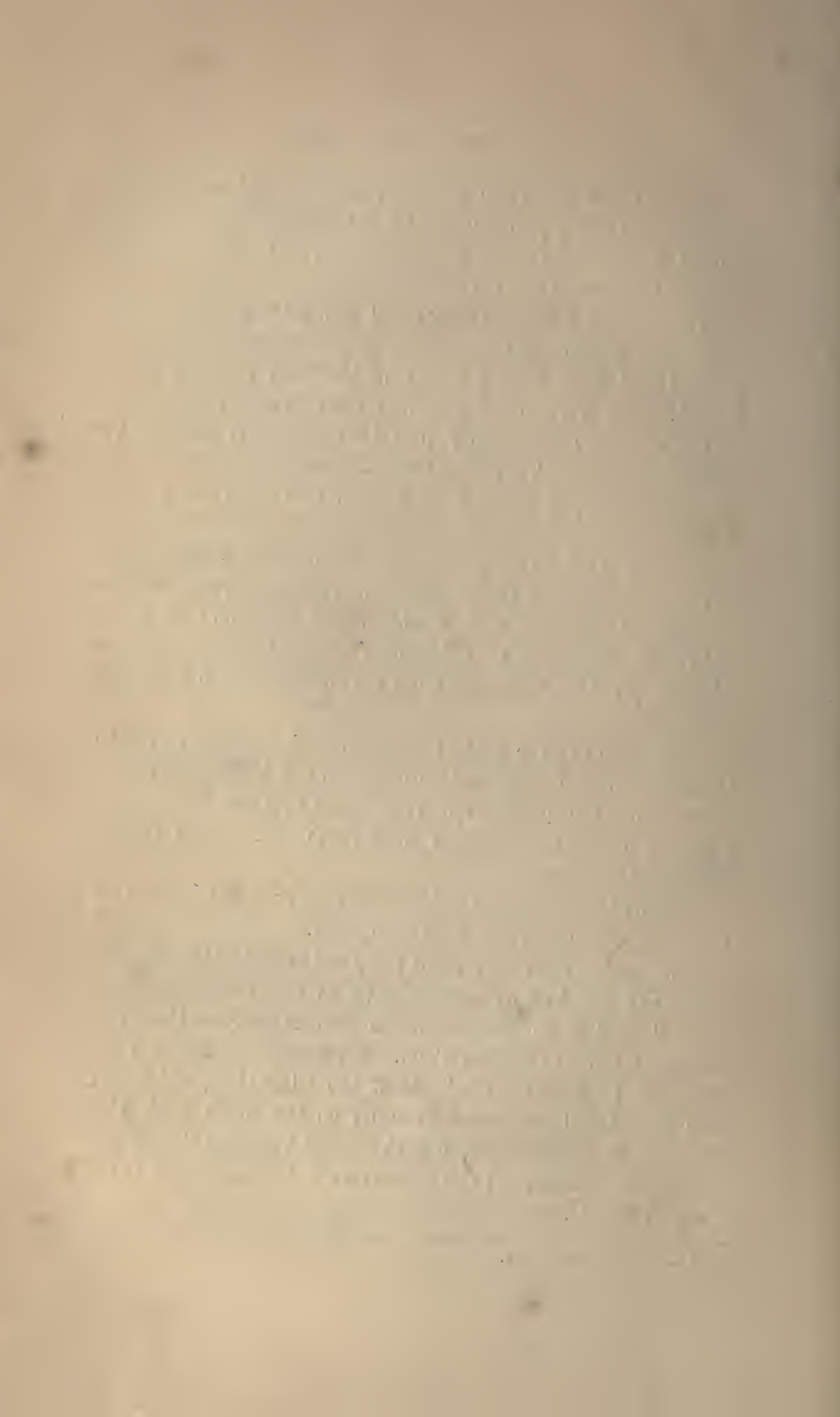
Leaving Amber they encountered the jungle of Kaker, which was so dense that they with great difficulty made their way through it, some of the people, it is said, crept through on their hands and knees. Beyond this lay the forest of Bare-bārāngon, through which they passed, trampling down the undergrowth, until a path was made.

They then came to Kadmā bedā, from whence they passed on to Belāonjā, and afterwards to Sir and Sikhar. They then spread over the parganas of Pālganjo, Tundi and Pāndrā, and adjoining districts. A portion went south and settled in the Midnāpur jungles.

From Pālganjo, Tundi and Pāndrā they crossed the Barākar river, and spread over the Santāl Parganās.

The leaders tried to prevent the people crossing the Barākar river, but the bad name they gave to the country beyond, as well as the punishment which was to overtake those who disobeyed, failed to restrain them. After crossing the Barākar river they pressed on to the banks of the Adjaē river, which they also crossed, and possessed the country on the north bank also. Finding themselves cramped in the Santāl Parganās they began to cross the Ganges, and clear homesteads for themselves in the Pundua jungle.

* Turi and Flower tanks.



II.—Kalidasa (2).—His age.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

As already stated, the only positive facts known about Kālidāsa's date is that he lived some time before 634 and 620 A.D. That gives the outer limit of his date, but the inner limit will have to be found out. The Indian tradition asserts that Vikramāditya of Ujjain founded the Era of 56 B.C., and that he had nine gems in his court, one of them being Kālidāsa. This tradition asserts four different facts : (1) That there was a Vikramāditya at Ujjain in 56 B.C. ; (2) that he founded the era of 56 B.C. ; (3) that he had a court in which there were nine distinguished men, and (4) that Kālidāsa was one of them. Let us examine all these four statements.

(1) There was no great king at Ujjain in the year 56 B.C. There was indeed a great conqueror at Palitānā or Pratisthāna on the Godāvari far away from Ujjain named Vāsisthiputra. But it is nowhere asserted that he had nine gems in his court.

(2) The Era of 56 B.C. had nothing to do with Vikramāditya at all. For the first three centuries we do not get any inscription dated in this Era. There is only one inscription dated in this era in the fourth century, but in that inscription the Era is called Krita or newly made (by calculating backwards). In the fifth century there are several inscriptions dated in this era, in the earliest of which dated 404 A.D., it is called both Krita and Mālavaganāmnāta, *i.e.*, newly made and adopted by the tribes of Malwa. Gradually the word Krita was dropped and it was called the Mālava Era or the era adopted by the Mālavas. In an inscription dated 533 A.D., this era is called "Mālavaganasthityanusrātat Kālajnānāya likhitesu, *i.e.*, for the purpose of ascertaining time according to the convention of the tribe of Mālavas. It is only in the eighth century of this era which

had the name Kirta in the beginning, and the name Mālava after that, became associated with the name of Vikrama. There are scholars who think that the name Vikrama, there, is not a proper name, but a common noun denoting prowess as the epoch of the era coincides with Dashera festival in which kings used to show their prowess by issuing from their capital in a great procession and cutting down the branch either of a Sami or a Kovidāra tree. It is only in the thirteenth century, when the Indian people had lost all their date traditions and lost their historical sense, that the full name Vikramāditya became associated with this era.

(3) So there was no Vikramāditya in 56 B.C. and the era of 56 B.C. became associated with the name of Vikramāditya in the thirteenth century A. D., *i.e.*, after fourteen centuries of its existence.

The theory of nine gems is equally untenable, because the nine gems belong to different periods. One of them Varāhamihira by his own statement wrote one of his great works in 505 A. D. Amarasimha, the other gem, is universally believed to have flourished about the end of the sixth century. There are so many Vararuchis, all equally distinguished, that it is impossible to tell which Vararuchi is included among the nine gems. So the list of gems given in Indian tradition includes names of men belonging to different periods and is, therefore, useless as a chronological data.

(4) If there be no nine gems, it is scarcely possible that Kālidāsa was one of them. So from Indian traditions there is no possibility of getting a clue to Kālidāsa's date.

The attempt made by S. Roy, Esq., to take Kālidāsa back to the second century B.C. on the ground that some of the expressions used by him are not sanctioned by Patanjali, though they may be sanctioned by Pāṇini, is opposed to the history of the development of the Sanskrit language. Patanjali wrote his Bhāṣya for a language which was fast vanishing and going out of use. It is a well-known fact that when he wrote, literary vernaculars had grown up in different provinces and that he was

legislating for the speech of the *Sistas* only. The word *sista* means a well-to-do Brahmin inhabitant of Aryāvarta who was an expert in at least one of the sciences of the Hindus. It is a well-known fact that since then vernaculars were constantly influencing Sanskrit. As the number of *Sistas* was diminishing, Pānini's grammar and Patanjali's *Bhāṣya* were fast going out of use and they had constantly to be revived and resuscitated by new commentaries and by new recasts. Other schools of grammar were constantly rising up for the purpose of validating vernacularised expressions in Sanskrit or, better perhaps, Sanskritised vernacular expressions. If it can be proved that Kālidāsa flourished at a period when Pānini and Patanjali went to sleep, S. Roy's position would be absolutely untenable.

There was a theory that Mātrigupta, the Viceroy of Kashmir, under Pravarasena in the third century was Kālidāsa. This is equally opposed to facts. In none of his books Kālidāsa shows any familiarity with the scenes and surroundings of Kashmir. The geographical accounts of India given by him in his books are equally opposed to the theory of third century A. D. The Huns then were not in the north-western corner of India and the Persian Empire was very little known.

The most recent theory about the date of Kālidāsa is that he flourished at the court of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya of the Gupta Dynasty, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. or a little earlier. The principal argument on which that theory is based is that the description of seasons given in the Mandāsore inscriptions of 436 and 473 is an imitation of Kālidāsa's *Ritusamhāra*. But it has already been shown that a very large number of dated inscriptions at Mandāsore contained descriptions of seasons, and they extend, so far as is known, from 404 to 533 A.D. If the first of these inscriptions, that was written in 404, be an imitation of Kālidāsa, Kālidāsa's date must go back to at least the middle of the fourth century. But this nobody is prepared to accept. Is *Ritusamhāra* really such a fine poem that poets of a particular locality should continue to imitate it for two centuries? On the other hand, if it

is true that Kālidāsa was an inhabitant of Western Malwa and if the poets of that locality were fond of describing seasons, in season and out of season, and that even in inscriptions, it is more reasonable to suppose that Kālidāsa as a young poet acquired the taste of describing seasons, not only in Ritusamhāra but in all his works he is constantly describing them and as he grew in age and experience these descriptions became more and more concise and more and more effective. So it is much better to suppose that the poets of Mandāsore and Western Malwa had a convention of describing seasons, and Kālidāsa was trained under that convention. Then, again, is it true that the poet Vatsabhātti who wrote the Sun Temple inscription had the Ritusamhāra before him? I do not think he had. If he were imitating Kālidāsa he would not have condescended to write on such trivial plants as Lavalī, the fodder of elephants, and Lajana, a common shrub without beauty and without any attraction. Read side by side, Ritusamhāra and that inscription, neither of them appears to be an imitation of the other. All that can be said about the date of Kālidāsa from this source is that Kālidāsa flourished when poets loved to describe the seasons, and as he was a product of this love, he should not be placed at the beginning but either in the middle or in the end of this period, *i.e.*, at the latter half of the period between 404 and 533 A.D. His writings, or rather geographical and historical informations contained in them, tend to the same direction.

(1) It is a well-known fact that the Roman Empire was split into two after Constantine the Great about the middle of the fourth century A.D., that the Western Empire of Rome was destroyed by the Vandals, Goths and Huns at about 475 A.D., and that the Eastern Empire with Constantinople as its capital got the name of the Byzantine or the Greek Empire. Had Kālidāsa flourished before the fall of the Western Empire he would certainly have mentioned the Romans. But in the Raghuvamśa he mentions only the Yavans or the Greeks.

(2) Nearer home he does not speak of the Parthians, or the Palhavas as they are called in India, but of the Persians, who became the dominant race west of Hindu India from the middle of

the third century, and the greatest extension of whose dominions was in the sixth century A.D., when they conquered a part of Western India.

It is a remarkable fact that in Raghuvamsa, the hero Raghu after conquering Aparānta, *i.e.*, Konkan and Surat, goes by land route to Persia. He had no enemies or independent principalities to conquer between Surat and Persia, all that territory being absorbed in Sassanide Empire, whose greatest monarch Nausirvan flourished from 531 to 579 A.D.

(3) The simultaneous existence of the Greek and the Persian Empire shows that Kālidāsa must have lived either in the end of the fifth or in the sixth century, for in the first half of the fifth century Greek Empire was a shadow of Rome and in the seventh the Persian Empire was destroyed by the Muhammadans.

(4) The Huns, who destroyed the Roman Empire, proceeded from the Chinese borders in the first century A.D., and fell upon the Western Empire, and in the beginning of the fifth they practically destroyed it. Finding it impossible to do the work of destruction any more in the West, a current of the stream of Huna invasion came down to the north-west corner of India and settled there, after the destruction of the Roman Empire.

From their new home at Sākala, in the Punjab, they poured in torrents in a south-easterly direction and broke the Gupta Empire into pieces. They seemed to have conquered the whole of Malwa, for a king of Eastern Malwa seems to have acknowledged the Hun supremacy. They carried everything before them with fire and sword and people trembled at their name. But the combined efforts of the people of Malwa and of the remnant of the Gupta Empire seem to have repulsed them with great slaughter sometime before 533 A.D., and confined them to the north-western corner of India, *i.e.*, the Western Punjab, Peshawar and Kashmere.

In the Raghuvamsa, Kālidāsa places the Huns on the Indus and in the north-west corner of India. Was it before they destroyed the Gupta Empire or after it? From what has

preceded, it cannot be before, for in that case Persians should not be in Guzerat and in Sindh, for there is a good deal of evidence that Guzerat and some portion of the deserts of Sindh were then parts of the Gupta Empire. It was only after the Hun invasion that the Persians could get hold of these territories, so the fact that Kālidāsa mentions the Huns in the north-western parts of India shows that when he wrote the Raghuvamsa, the Huns had already been driven out from Malwa and Hindustan.

(5) This is borne out by another statement of Kālidāsa. In the 6th canto of Raghuvamsa a great hero is described as the ruler of Avanti, *i.e.*, Malwa. Kālidāsā gives such a vivid description of his personal appearance that he appears to have been not only a contemporary but a friend of that great ruler, and he is described as a newly rising moon. Who could be this ruler but Yasodharma, who humiliated the Huns and commemorated his victories by raising two monolith pillars containing a proud inscription in each, now lying prostrate at Songne, five miles from Mandāsore, with two big statues which may represent either Yasodharmadeva himself, or the deity he worshipped. These are lying neglected in the midst of bushes. They are in Sindhia's territory. They should be taken care of and erected in their proper positions and cleared of dirt, because they would remind the people of India of the most glorious day of her ancient existence.

(6) Kālidāsa mentions the Tibetan as 'Utsāvasaniketān' which is a Sanskrit word formed by the combination of the names of the Tibetan provinces bordering on India—U. Tschang, Bostan and Khotan. The Tibetans came to the notice of the world in the sixth century A.D. The Chinese in that century called Tibet Uchan from the names of the two provinces bordering on China. From the fact that Kālidāsa called the Tibetans Utsava Sanketan it can be said that his Raghuvamsa at least belonged to the sixth century, and it is a curious fact that he names Tibet exactly in the same way as the Chinese did.

(7) There is another very curious expression in the fourth canto of the Raghuvamsa in which Kālidāsa says that Raghu

placed Aksobhya in Tibet. Now, the earlier Mahayanists worshipped Amitābha who is still revered by every sect of Northern Buddhism, be it in China, Korea, Mongolia or Japan. Next comes the cult of Aksobhya and after that that of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. The Aksobhya cult became dominant by the end of the fifth century. The Hindus were in greater sympathy with Aksobhya than with any other Buddhist deity. He was regarded as a Rsi, as a Bhairava and as Siva himself. Kālidāsa nowhere showed any predilection for Buddhism. He is absolutely silent about it. This is the only instance in which he has mentioned a Buddhist deity, who has much in common with Siva whom Kālidāsa worshipped. The mention of Aksobhya shows that he flourished about a century before Yuan Chwang.

(8) From Tibet Kālidāsa crosses the Himalayas and comes down to Kāmarūpa, which was then a powerful kingdom as will be shown from the recently discovered Pancasara inscription of Bhāskara Varma, a contemporary of Harsa (606—648). Thanks to the interpretation of that inscription by Pandita Padmanātha Vidyāvinoda of the Cotton College, Gauhati, we have come to know that nine powerful kings preceded Bhāskara Varma in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. These nine kings must have reigned there for more than hundred years bringing the date of Kālidāsa from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D.

(9) Rapson has shown in his work on Indian coins that the Guptas began to coin money from 319 A.D. and continued to do so till 606 A.D., when their empire was formally put an end to by Harsavardhana who began to coin money in his own name. But during the latter half of this period, after the Hun invasion, the Guptas were no longer a military power. They were emperors in name and had all the insignia of royalty among which coining money was one. The condition of the Gupta Empire then was just like that of the Moghul Empire after the invasion of Nadir Shah. The Moghul Emperors were then emperors in name and in form. Even the East India Company coined money in their names up to the year 1827, when Lord Amherst

saw the Emperor at Delhi and told him that he had ceased to reign. The East India series of coins began from that year. Kālidāsa puts the Emperor of Magādhā exactly in this situation. In the great assembly of the princes of India at the Svayambara of Indumati in Vidarbha, the first place of honour is accorded to the King of Magādhā. But there is the significant expression :—

कामं नृपाः सन्तु सहस्रशोऽन्ये ।
 राजन्वतौमादुरनेन भूमिम् ॥
 नक्षत्रताराग्रह सङ्कुलापि ।
 ज्योतिः तिष्ठन्मसीवरातिः ॥

“ Let there be thousand other kings, but the Earth is possessed of a king because of him ; just as there may be thousands of stars, but the night would be called luminous only when the moon is there.” This clearly gives the king of Magādhā a precedence over the rest of the kings of India, and the fact that Indumati was taken to him first of all, shows that his position was undisputed. But Kālidāsa takes care not to describe him as a military leader, but as a man fond of sacrifices, and describes his capital as a great city.

(10) In Southern India the Pandya capital was Madura and the Cola capital was Urāgapura or Uraīra which is at present a suburb of Trichinopoly on the Kaveri. But Kālidāsa makes the Pāndyas the masters of Urāgapura, and nowhere in his works mentions the Cholas. These two powers from the beginning of their existence in remote antiquity, long before Asoka, were at war with each other. But we know from Sewell's works, that their hostilities became acute from the beginning of the third century and at the end of the struggle the Cholas lost their kingdom and their capital. Vincent Smith says that about 575 A.D., the Pāndyas, the Cholas and the Cheras equally felt the power of a newly-rising kingdom, viz., that of the Pallavas. But the Cholas were not at their old place, for Yuan Chwang says that he found the Cholas a weak race at Cudduppa, nearly 300 miles north of Trichinopoly. The fact that Kālidāsa does not mention the Pallavas shows that he flourished before the Pallavas had risen to power, but at the time when the Cholas had lost their capital

in their struggle with the Pāṇḍyas. Historical researches have not yet been able to fix with exactitude the time when Uragapura fell into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas. But as the struggle continued for four centuries from the beginning of the third, it may be inferred that they lost it in the 4th century of that struggle, for in the beginning of the 6th century we find them 300 miles away from their home.

(11) In the Kumāra Sambhava which will be proved later on to have preceded the Raghuvamśa Kālidāsa describes the condition of lotuses in a reservoir of water when its embankment fails. In Bengal, tanks are made by excavations, but in countries where there are many plateaux, vast reservoirs of water are often formed by throwing up an embankment on one side, when the other sides are formed by highlands. There is a historical reservoir of this kind at Girnar. Its embankment was thrown up by a nephew of Chandragupta Maurya in the 4th century B.C. That embankment gave way in about 150 A.D. and it was repaired by the Saka King Rudrāman, but it gave way again about 475 A.D. and was repaired by an officer of the Gupta Emperor. The affair made a deep impression on the people of Gujrat and Malwa, and Kālidāsa describes the scene in a simile in the Kumāra Sambhava. It was most likely a recent event when Kālidāsa described it.

(12) In the 16th canto of Raghuvamśa Kālidāsa describes the desertion of Ayodhyā and its re-peopling by Kusa. Rapson in his work on Indian coins says that the Guptas had three Capitals, *viz.*, (i) Pātaliputra, (ii) Ayodhyā and (iii) Ujjain. Their own province was Magādhā from which they extended their conquest towards the west. They conquered Hindusthan and made Ayodhyā their second capital and then conquered Malwa, and made Ujjain their third capital. It is not a fact that they deserted one capital for another, but they had all the three at one and the same time. It is most probable that on the advance of the Huns Ayodhyā and Ujjain were both deserted and the Guptas had recourse to Pataliputra, their earliest capital. This desertion was seen by Kālidāsa, for he describes it very vividly and

perhaps he saw it even after its re-peopling. The fact that it was re-peopled is proved by the statement in Bānā's *Harsacarita* that it continued the 'pilkhana' (elephant stable) of Harsa and that it was presided over by a scion of the Gupta family called Skanda Gupta, who came in 606 to Harsa at Thaneswar immediately after the latter's accession to the throne and gave him a good deal of advice in state-craft.

(13) There is no doubt that the reign of Skanda Gupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was the most popular, the most prosperous and the most brilliant in the history of that dynasty. It is also a fact that he loved Malwa and spent much of his time at Ujjain. Kālidāsa describes a temple of Skanda on a hill named Devagiri situated on the road leading from Ujjain to Mandāsore. This deity is still worshipped at the same Devagiri as Khande Rao which is a vernacular form of Skanda. It contains the statues of Skanda on horse back which shows that in the mind of the man who consecrated that temple, the deity Skanda and the Emperor Skanda were one and the same. Kālidāsa was of the same mind, for otherwise the glorious description of what now is an obscure temple cannot be accounted for. To those who know the Indian custom, it is well known that no temple is dedicated to a living man. It is only shortly after his death that temples are dedicated to him. This Skanda temple was therefore erected after the death of Skanda Gupta to commemorate him and so Kālidāsa, who was a devoted follower of Siva, describes this temple as dedicated to Siva's son in a manner worthy of the unspent genius of a young poet.

(14) There were poets before Kālidāsa and these were great poets too; there were poets after Kālidāsa and there were great poets too, but none of them describes the Himalaya so minutely and so lovingly as Kālidāsa has done. He describes every part of the Himalayas both lengthwise and crosswise; both in the lower regions and in the higher regions. Did he enjoy any special facilities to travel in the Himalayas? We in the twentieth century cannot imagine that he did; but in one of his inscriptions Yasodharma-deva proclaims it as one of his glorious acts, that he has made

the Himalayas accessible. In fact none but a great conqueror, whose empire extended from the Western Seas to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to Mahendragiri, who conquered territories unknown to the Guptas and Hunas, could make Himalayas accessible. Kālidāsa took full advantage of this accessibility of the Himalayas in his *Raghuvamsa*, for in that work he describes it lengthwise, he describes the different strata of the Himalayas and even goes beyond it to fight with the primitive people of Tibet who did not know the use of iron but fought with stones.

Bāna the court poet of Harsavardhana was a scholar and a travelled man. His travels are detailed in the *Harsacarita*. Three hundred men travelled in his train. In his *Kādambari* he traverses many of the countries described by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*—Ujjain, Dasapura and the Himalayas. But his description of the Himalayas is absolutely vague. He gives us no details. His Himalaya is more a creation of his own fancy than the result of his observations. This evidently shows that the Himalayas were not so accessible, even though his patron was a mighty monarch, as in the time of Kālidāsa. Bharavi, too, who preceded Kālidāsa, had occasion to describe the Himalayas but only a part of it. His description also shows that he did not see much of the Himalayas. It was Kālidāsa alone who saw the Himalayas and described them in all their glory.

(15) The regions to the south of Narmadā were inhabited by the ancient race Haihayas. Kārttavṛṇyārjuna was the legendary hero of this race. Their capital was Māhismati which Mr. Pargiter identified with Mandhata on the Narmadā. It is said that they gained ascendancy in that region about the third century A.D. They often held the great fort of Kalinjar. They had an era called the Chedi Era or the Traikūṭaka Era with its epoch falling in the year 249 or 250 A.D. Kālidāsa not only mentions the Haihayas bordering on the sea, but he even mentions the city of Trikūṭa situated in the Mahādeva Hills of the Satpura range. The city was so called because there were in its neighbourhood three high peaks. From a statement in the fourth canto of *Raghuvamsa*, we learn that Raghu

captured the city and made the three peaks serve the purpose of pillars of victory.

In the July number of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1913 is given the substance of an inscription dated 608 of Buddharāj, son of Sankaragana of the Haihaya race who were still disputing the supremacy of the Deccan with the Chalukyas of Badami. So the Haihayas were powerful rulers on the other side of the Narmadā for the whole of the 6th century.

(16) Mathurā was a very ancient city. It was in the very heart of the Gupta Empire. Yet Kālidāsa speaks of an independent kingdom in Mathurā. He couldn't say so until after the dismemberment of the Gupta Empire by the Huna invasion. From an inscription deciphered by Bhagavan Lāl Indrajī in the ninth volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, we come to learn that a dynasty of kings was reigning there for several generations. The ninth king of that dynasty set up an inscription which on Palæographical grounds is placed by Bhagavan Lāl Indrajī in the eighth century A.D. Counting backward the establishment of the kingdom would fall about the time of the fall of the Gupta Empire. The founder of the dynasty was Fakka, a South Indian name. He seems to have come from Southern India, where the Kadamvas were always friendly to the Guptas. Kālidāsa says that the dynasty was called Nīpa dynasty, which, if Sanskrit lexicography is to be believed, means Kadamva dynasty.

(17) Kalinga is a country mentioned twice by Kālidāsa, once in connection with the conquests of Rāghu and once more in connection with the Royal assemblage at Vidarbha. The Purāṇas tell us that about the middle of the fifth century A.D. a powerful man, named Gūha, established the kingdom of Kalinga and left it to his posterity. His dominions extended all along the Orissa coast down to the Kāveri.

(18) Kālidāsa speaks of Anga as a powerful kingdom, the Rājā of which was in rank and honour second only to the king of Magādha. The country was famous for its elephants and for its rich literature on elephants. In Harsacarita we find King Sasanka ruling in this region about 600 A.D. His other

name was Narendra Gupta. He seems to have represented a branch of the Imperial Gupta family² at Magadha. This is the only possible explanation why Indumati was introduced to time immediately after her introduction to the King of Magādhā.

If this was really a branch of the Gupta family, they must have branched off from a very early period of the Gupta dominions and as an off-shoot of the Gupta family they were respected like the Imperial family. But if they were not a branch of the Gupta family, but belonged to the "Devarkshitas" of Karnasuvarna, they must have achieved their success immediately after the fall of the Gupta Empire on account of the Huna invasion and were a powerful and respected family in the beginning of the sixth century.

The political geography of Southern Asia, as given in Kālidāsa's work, tallies with real facts, so far as is known at present, of the political geography of the beginning of the sixth century A.D. If we believe the Indian tradition and place Kālidāsa in 56 B.C. we get neither the Greeks who were long before conquered by the Romans, nor the Persians who rose to power in the second quarter of the third century A.D., nor the Hunas in the north-west corner of India which was occupied by the Scythic races. Coming to India, we find the Śātakarnīs aiming almost at a universal monarchy under Vāsisthīputra and Vātsīputra Pulumayī whom Kālidāsa does not at all mention. The same facts would not allow us to put him in the first century A.D. for we do not find the Kusans and Śātakarnīs. In the second century too, the Kusans were all-powerful at Benares, Mathura, Sravastī and even at Pātaliputra. In the third century the fall of the Śātakarnīs and Kusans gave rise to anarchy and confusion, unfavourable to the growth of art and literature. The fourth century saw the rapid rise of the Gupta Empire and of the Empire of the Burmans of Pokarana. It would have been impossible for Kālidāsa in that century to speak of the king of Magādhā as holding only a nominal sovereignty. The fifth century saw the absorption of the Burman Empire in the Gupta Empire and the invasion of the Hunas,

An independent sovereignty at Mathurā or in Anga would then be impossible. It is only after the fall of the Gupta Empire on account of the Huna invasion, that Northern India would be divided into small kingdoms like those described by Kālidāsa. So his geography is true only for the latter end of the fifth century and the first-half of the sixth, and this is the period of Kālidāsa's literary activity. He cannot be later than 550 for he does not at all mention the kingdom of Thaneswar which played such an important part in the latter end of that century and in the first-half of the seventh. He describes the Kurukshetra indeed but only as a sacred place and is absolutely silent about its political existence.

Epigraphy also yields certain facts which lead to the same conclusion. Kālidāsa in his description of the Himalayas says that coloured earth washed by the rains falling on berch-bark with red horizontal lines produce the shape of letters; which barks, the Vidhyadharas, with a little manipulation, use as their love-letters. This evidently shows that Kālidāsa was aware of the existence of a rectilinear alphabet which was thought to be very ancient in his time and which was regarded as belonging to the demi-gods Vidhyādharas. This is no other than the Brahmi alphabet of Asoka's time—an alphabet which continued to be in use with some modifications down to the end of the third century A.D. Kālidāsa could not have attributed them to Vidhyādharas if he had lived between third century B.C. and third century A.D., *i.e.*, during the currency of the rectilinear alphabet. That alphabet was beyond the comprehension even of learned men in his time and so he says that it was the alphabet of the Vidhyādharas.

I suspect that Kālidāsa made the Ramagiri hills the place of banishment for his love-lorn Yaksa, simply because there are caves in that hill, inscribed with the rectilinear alphabet, which scholars consider to be even older than Asoka.

In the Kumārasambhavam Kālidāsa says that on the mango blossoms sat black bees and they look like the letters of the name of cupid. Cupid has many names but the name chosen by Kālidāsa is Manobhava and it is curious that in the later Mandāsore inscriptions all these syllables are broad at the top and at the bottom and thin in the middle, Ma, vo, bha and va each resembling a black bee.

III.—Maranja-Mura Charter of Maha Siva Gupta *alias* Yayati.

By B. C. Mazumdar, M.R.A.S.

General remarks.

I. This copper-plate charter of much historical importance was unearthed by a cultivator four years ago, almost at the boundary of the villages—Jātē Singā and Dungri—in the Feudatory State of Sonpur, some 14 miles to the north-east of the town of Sonpur. Mahārāja Śrī Bir Mitrodaya Singh Deo, the Feudatory Chief of Sonpur, very kindly gave to me this record (as well as two other copper-plate Charters of the Bhauja rulers which I shall edit later on) a short time after its discovery. The record was forthwith deciphered and notes regarding its physical character were then duly recorded. As I am a blind man now and cannot revise my notes referring to the text of the charter, I must give this assurance to the readers that the notes I am depending upon in editing the charter now, were very carefully taken. However, as the readers will now be in a position to inspect the charter itself, I need not speak anything as to the quality of my work. On reference to my paper on the three Copper-Plate Records of Sonpur, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pages 93-104, it will be seen that this charter was issued twelve years previous to the grant of Nibinna (in the Sonpur State) by the self-same grantor.

II. This charter, like other charters of the Trikalīṅga Guptas, contains three plates of four sides and are strung together on a circular ring about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness. The ring passes through circular holes bored through the left margins of the plates, and its ends are secured in a lump of copper the upper surface of which may be fitly described as

the oval-shaped seal of the grantor. This seal bears the figure of a goddess in relief, squatting on a lotus, flanked on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk. The goddess, therefore, is undoubtedly the representation of Kamalā or Kamlātmikā of the group of the Dasa-Mahā-Vidyās and as such she should not be confounded with the goddess Kamalā or Laksmī [1]. Unlike the seals attached to the charters of the father of the grantor, this seal does not contain any legend. The first plate is slightly thinner than the second one; but both of them measure almost equally in their breadth and height. The average breadth of the plates is 8" and the average height 4". Of the three plates of this charter the first and the last are written on the inner sides only. The third plate is very thin and was found broken in the middle, as well as at the corners, at the time of the discovery of the charter; but fortunately enough, this damage has not interfered with the legibility of the record. The letters wanting in the third plate, because of the top-corner to the left and a portion to the right side at the ends of lines 1—5 being broken have been put within square brackets. As the letters are missing in those familiar slokas invariably engraved on all charters of this class, there was no difficulty in filling up the gaps.

III. The remarks I made regarding the orthography of the Trikalīṅga Gupta records in my paper previously referred to (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, page 93) apply fully to the orthography of this record; consequently, I do not deal with it here. Such wrong spellings as *ḍḍotita* (Plate 1, l. 7) for *dyotita*, *Yajāti* (Plate 2, page 1, l. 6) for *Yayāti*, and *m̐* for *m* in *sāmbra* and *tāmbra* are important as they show the then real pronunciation of them in the right Oriyā fashion as is even now in vogue. I do not note such misprints as *sasthin* for *sasthi* as

[1] In the *Bṛihat-Kali-Tantra*, wherein all the goddesses of the group of the Dasa-Mahā-Vidyās have been accurately described in their Dhyanas, Kamalā or Kamalātmikā has been described exactly as she is found represented here. The elephants with uplifted trunks are constantly bathing the goddess with water, when she is seated on a lotus of many petals. (*Vide*—my paper on the Tantras in the magazine, "Sahitya", of the Bengali year 1312, pages 131-138.)

they will not interfere with the correct reading or with the interpretation of the text. I have suggested some emendations in the foot-notes to the text with a view to obtain an intelligible meaning. I have put those letters in small brackets which were dropped inadvertently by the engraver. I have mentioned it already that some missing letters have been put within square brackets.

IV. The imprecatory verses as well as the verses and the prose lines, which are word for word the same in all copper-plate charters of the Trikalanga Guptas, have not been translated here, as they have been translated several times by myself as well as by such learned scholars as Dr. J. F. Fleet and others in the *Epigraphia Indica* (e.g., Vol. III, pages 323-359 and Vol. XI, pages 93ff.). I may also mention that the importance of those verses is being discussed in the *J. R. A. S.* by Mr. F. E. Pargiter, I.C.S., retired. I give now a literal translation of the portion of the text which is new and original in this record. However, the words and phrases of historical importance as occur in the portion of the text not fully translated are set out in the next succeeding paragraphs with some comments, under the heading "Historical Notes."

Historical Notes.

V. It is very noteworthy that all the epigraphic records of the Trikalanga Guptas hitherto discovered and published, relate to the geographical area which may now be described as the Sambalpur tract. That this tract was a part of Kosala country of which Ratanpur in the district of Bilaspur was once the noted capital and did not politically form any part of Orissā from the earliest times to October, 1905, has been discussed by me in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XI, pages 101-4) and in my work entitled *Senpur*. This charter also discloses the fact that the villages Māranja and Murā granted by Yayāti when residing at Sonpur were within the Kosala country (Plate II, page 1, paragraphs 6 and 7). When we take into consideration the dates of all the charters issued by Yayāti and his father Janamejaya, we find that both these rulers were constantly present

in the Sambalpur tract and resided principally in the Feudatory State of Sonpur. It is to be noted that Sonpur has been called a Pattana (Plate I, l. 10) in this record. As to the true significance of the term I refer the readers to my article—Notes on some Pāli Words—in the *J. R. A. S.* (Bombay branch) for 1909. ‘Pattana’ from which the term Pātnā has been derived meant originally such a port town on the confluence of some rivers, which had a royal seat. This is why the old Pātali-putra (or Pāli-putta of the common parlance of the olden times) got the name Patna being situated on the confluence of the Ganges and Son. It will be found on the map that the present town of Sonpur stands exactly where it did during the days of Yayāti and his father, namely, on the confluence of the Tel (Tela of this record) and the Māhanadi—(Plate I, ll. 2 and 3). It was, therefore, a fit place to be called a Pattana for fulfilling the physical conditions it had a residence of Rājādhirājā Yayāti. As neither the old capital of the Feudatory State of Patna nor any portion of that State is on the confluence of rivers, I strongly suspect that Sonpur was the capital of the portion of territories of the Gupta Rājās we are dealing with, which may be identified with the whole of the Sambalpur tract including the State of Patna, and that when a Rājā subsequently lost the Sonpur area and had to be satisfied with the possession with the area covered by the Patna State, the name Pattana attached to the town of Sonpur was given to the capital of the limited area. Dr. Fleet places the rulers of the charters under consideration in the 11th century A.D. It is therefore very interesting that the spot on which the royal pavilion of King Yayāti stood when this charter was issued, bears even to-day the unmistakable sign that there was once a Vihārārāma (Plate I, l. 4) or a park there. The groves of trees now existing may not be very old, but this spot at the east end of the town has never been the homestead land of the people of the town. There are also many temples there, though it cannot be said with certainty that they are the very temples named in the fourth line of the first plate ; there is even

now on the spot the temple of the goddess Bhagavati but she is not called to-day Panchambari Bhadrāmbika.

VI.—It has been recited in this charter (Plate 2, page 1, ll. 6 and 8 ; and Plate 2, page 2, ll. 1-3) that the two villages Māranja and Murā which were granted to the Brāhman donee Yasakara, were situate within the *Sautobarda* section or khanda of Sambarabādi circle or Mandala (of which Vrihat Bhusāi-Grāma was the chief place), and within the Visaya or Parganā or Ilākā of Bhranda in the Kosala country. Though there are many villages in the Sambalpur tract which bear the very place names with slightly altered pronunciation, no identification could be made of the villages which are really meant in the recital of the gift ; we may meet with a village Murā but we do not get a Māranja close by and cannot find a village called Bad-Bhusāi either near Murā or near Māranja. It was suggested to me by a friend that the district of Sambalpur was meant by Sambarabādi Mandala, but I could not persuade myself to accept the suggestion, though I admit that the words Sambara and Sambala are really the same. It has been stated that the donee Yasakara who was the son of Sāntikara and the grandson of Nārāyana came to be settled in the Sonpur State after having migrated from the village Hasti in the Madhyadesa. No doubt, Kananj was once called Madhyadesa and the Brāhmanas of Bengal and Orissā claim to have migrated from there, but I think that the tract covered by the northern portion of the district of Balāsore and the subdivision of Contai is meant here. My reasons for this supposition are, (1) that the Oriyā Brāhmanas and Mahāntis who live in the Contai subdivision call themselves the inhabitants of the Madhyadesa, that is, the tract lying between Bengal and Orissā ; (2) that the other charters of the Trikalīnga Guptas disclose the fact that the Brāhmanas who were given lands in the Kosala country and who bore the family name Kara were brought from the Odra-desā ; and (3) that it was not likely that Brāhmanas came direct from Kananj to be settled in Kosala to be associated with the Oriyā-speaking Brāhmanas there. The donee

family has been described to be of the Parasarasa gōtra having the Atreya *pravara* and to belong to the Kanva branch of the Yajurveda.

VII.—It is clear on the face of it that the names of Karnāta, Lāta, Gurjara and Kānchi were inserted by the sycophants without really meaning anything. Yayāti, I should say, did not even dream that he should proceed to those far off countries to conquer them. It is also doubtful if Yayāti was the conqueror of Rādha and Gauda, for we find him always granting lands and enjoying supremacy in the forest tract of Sambalpur. The title Trikalīngādhipati does not appear to be an empty title, since the title was invariably worn by the predecessor of Yayāti as well as by his successors, and the evidences of the influence of the family, in Orissā as well as in some portions of the Kosala country, have been obtained from various sources. One fact of this record is important with reference to the time of the grantor ; the separate mention of Kalinga, Kōṅgada and Utkala argues in favour of the supposition that the three countries were not then welded into one country at the time of this grant. It is notorious that previous to the discovery of some epigraphic records during the last decade in the Puri district, the name Kōṅgada was unintelligible even to the scholars and the mention of that name in the records of the Chinese travellers was supposed by many to be a wrong spelling of some geographical name. When towards the end of the 11th century the Ganga Rājās sought to subvert the Utkala country, no portion of the district of Puri bore the name Kōṅgada.

VIII.—The statement in the charter that king Yayāti raised a storm in Gauda and Rādha by leading an assault against those countries, while he was the bright full moon in the purest sky of Bengal need be carefully considered. Yayāti like his father Janamejaya calls himself the lord of the Kosala country and paramount ruler of Trikalīṅga—which consisted of Utkala, Kōṅgada and Kalinga or a portion of the Ganjam district. He does not lay openly any claim to Bengal, and yet his stay in Bengal has been described to be peaceful and it has been said that he shines

in that country as the bright full moon. In what manner he was related to Bengal is not very clear, but that he and his father had Bengali Kayasthas as clerks and court-officials was shown by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pages 101—4. The present record clearly names Bengal in the sixth line of the last plate. I do not know how the meaning of the sentence running over the sixth and the seventh lines would have been changed or modified if the three letters, after the letter त्रि at the commencement of the seventh line, could be clearly deciphered. The sentence, without those illegible letters after the name of Yayāti, means distinctly as follows :—Whoever will become King in future in our Bengal line (Asmad-Vangānvaye), the dust of his feet am I—Yayāti. That the different branches of the Kosala Guptas reigned independently at different places was shown by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pages 101—4. It appears that a branch of the Kosala Guptas became supreme in Bengal and Yayāti or more properly his father Janamejaya, who was a scion of that family, conquered the Trikalinga countries and became the supreme lord of the Sambalpur tract which was an outlying portion of the Kosala-desā. Perhaps Yayāti did not cease to acknowledge the supremacy of those who were ruling a portion of Bengal, and for that reason called himself the dust of the feet of the Bengal King who might be expected in future to interfere with the grant. This explains clearly why we get the Bengali Kayasthas in the service of the Kosala Guptas.

IX.—This charter was issued in the third year of the Vijaya Rājya of King Yayāti (last plate, l. 9) on the fifth day from the new moon in the month of the Vaisāka and the writer of the charter, Rānaka Rudra Datta, was the grandson of Harsha Datta, and the son of the brother of Simha Datta. It is also to be noted that Rudra Datta, who was a Bengali Kayastha, calls himself a Rānaka, which indicates a Ksatriya origin (last plate, l. 11).

First Plate (Inner side).

1. (Symbol of Om) स्वस्वप्रगत वहल कलि कलुष धर्म्मामृत विमल
शिशिर किरणावलि परिघटित चन्द्रवि
2. म्बोदय स्यन्दित फेन कुसुम सन्दर्भित तरलतर तरङ्गमाला विरचित
तेला मद्हा
3. नदी सङ्गम विमल जल पवित्रोक्त धर्म्मधर्म्माभिनिवेशित सकल
जनकारिताने
4. क विविध देव कुलायतन¹ विहाराराम मण्डपोद्यान विचित्र कुसुम-
विटायतणो (?)
5. मञ्जरौ विकम्पित स्तवक सुभि कुसुम रजो धूसरितवपुर्मनोहर विदग्ध
भुजङ्ग
6. जनानोसङ्गमाधिकृत (?) मद मुदित जन्म विभ्रम स्फुरित कमलवदन
7. समल्लसित भ्रुभङ्ग विक्षेपस्फुटित कुवलयोद्घोतित वरकामिनी
8. सुरत करण व्यापारानेक प्रतन्त्रोगण समुत्कण्ठितसुरे^[2] (?) धि^[3] निर्गत
मयूर रूत
9. तूर्यनिर्घोष विरचितावसर भवनादवतौर्य सकललोकाभिलसित वरप्रदाना
10. गुग्गुह काम्यया भगवत्या श्रीपञ्चाम्बरि भद्राभिकयाधिष्ठिता पत्तन सुवर्णपु
11. रावासित ओमदिजयकटकादतिशयोर्जित प्रताप भारावनत समस्त
वृपति कुरूम्ब
12. चूडामणि परिचुम्बित पादपौठः । प्रथितानेक नल नहुष मान्धातु
दिलीप भरत भगि

[¹] I suggest विटपौतल[²] Read रो for रे[³] Read वि for धि

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Second Plate (First side).

1. रथादि राज चरितः कर्णाट लाट गुर्जेश्वर दाडज्वरी^[4]
भूविट कणत् काञ्ची कलापा
2. भरण लम्पटः । कलिङ्ग कोङ्गदोत्कलक कोशला
स्वयम्बरः प्रसिद्ध गौड़राठाम्बर
3. प्रकर्षणोत्घात मारुत श्रोताङ्ग वङ्ग विमलाम्बर पूर्णचन्द्रः स्वभूजोपार्जितत्रि
4. कलिङ्गाधिपतिः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः श्रीमहाभव
गुप्तपादाबुध्या
5. त महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर प्रणमित राजन्योपसेवित पादारविन्दयुगलः
श्रीमहा
6. शिवगुप्त श्रीयजाति देवः कुशलीकोशल प्रतिवद्धो भ्रांड विषयौय
टुड्ड,
7. सायौ ग्राम सम्बरवाडि मण्डल सन्तोवडा खड्यौय मारंजसुरा
8. ग्रामयोर्त्राह्मणान् संपूज्य तत् प्रतिनिवासि कुटुम्बिन तद्विषयौय अ(?) व
प्रदानयथा
9. कालाश्यास्त्रिनः समाहर्त्तु सनिधाट प्रभृतोनन्यांप्रच राजपादोपजीविनो-
दृष्टपाशिक
10. चाटभट पिशुन वेत्तिकव (रोध) जनराजवल्लभां संभाव्य समाज्ञापयति
विदितमस्तु भव
11. ता यथास्मिन् ग्रामावेतौ सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सगर्त्तोघरः साम्प्रमधुकौ
सगूट विषय सपङ्का
12. ल सजलस्य (ल) भर (?) य सदशापराच ^[4a] सर्वोपरि करादान समेतः
सर्ववाधाविवर्जि

[4] Seems to have been wrongly engraved for द्रविडजयौ.

[4a] Grant of this privilege that the donee may exercise the authority of dealing with the offenders committing the ten common offences is new in this plate. This phrase was in vogue in permanent leases in the Sonpur State about three decades ago. In the enumeration of the ten offences,—adultery, assault, defamation and offences relating to village roads and water-reservoirs are mentioned by some old men.

Second Plate (Reverse side).

1. तः प्रतिनिषिद्ध चाटभट प्रवेश मध्यदेशीय हस्तिग्राम विनिर्गताय
परासरस गो
2. त्राय आत्रेय प्रवराय नारायण नप्त्रे शान्तिकर
सुताय ययुर्वेद काण्वशाखाध्यायि
3. ने भट्ट पुत्र ^[6]खरोदयौ श्री यशकराय पुण्यतिथावस्थां ओदक पूर्वकं
आचन्द्रतारकाकं
4. स्थिति समकालोपभोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य यशोभिद्वये
ताम्रप्रास
5. नेनाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य समुचित भोग भागकर हिरण्यदिकमुपा
6. नयद्भिः सुखेन प्रतिवास्तव्यं भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्दैत्तिरियमस्मदी
7. य खदानमिव परिपालनीया । तथाचोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रे । बहुभिर्वसुधा-
दत्ता राजभिः
8. सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । माभूद-
फल शङ्कावः
9. परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः । खदानान् फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने । षष्ठौस्वर्घ
सह
10. स्नाणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आचक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं
वसेत् । भूमिं य प्रति
11. गृह्णन्ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । तावुभौ पुण्य कर्म्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गं
गामिनौ आस्फोटय

[6] I suggest खरोदयौ which may mean a person who can chant Sanskrit verses with a musical tune.

[illegible]

Plate II (2nd. side)

Third Plate (Inner side).

1. [न्ति पि]तरः प्रवृत्तयन्ति पितामहः भूमिदाता कुले जात स नस्त्राता
भविष्यति । सुवर्ण[मेकां]
2. गामेकां भूमेरयद्वं मङ्गलं । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूत संप्रभं । स्वदत्तां
परदत्ता[म्बा]
3. यो हरेते वसुन्वरां स विष्ठायां क्षमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सहपच्यते । हरते
हारयते यस्तु म[न्दु]
4. द्विस्तमोवृतः स वज्रो वारुणेः पाशैस्तित्येक योनिषु जायते । सामन्थोयं
धर्मेष्टु [वृ]
5. प्राणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान् भाविनो पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भुयोभुयो याच[ति]
6. रामचन्द्रः । अस्मद्गङ्गान्वये काले यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् तस्याहं पादर
जोस्मि यया
7. ति प्रायत [०] (?) इति कमलदलासु विन्दु लोलां त्रियमनुचिन्ह्य मनुष्य
जीवितं च
8. सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्धा नहि पुरुषैः पस्कोस्योर्विलोप्याः । श्री
महाशिव
9. गुप्त श्रीययाति राजदेव पादवर्द्धमान विजय राज्ये सम्वत्
सरे तृतीये वैशाक सितपञ्चम्यां
10. सः ३ नापि सम्वत् ३ वैशाक सुदि ५ लिखितमिदं ताम्ब्रशासनं सन्धि-
विग्रहि श्री
11. हर्षदत्त नमृना सिंहदत्त भाटमुतेन राण्क श्री रुद्र
दत्तेन

[०] We expected naturally the word राजदेवः here, but the partly illegible letters look wholly different from the components of the word suggested.

Translation of the Text.

(From the very beginning to line 6 of plate 2, page 1.)

Om (in symbol) Svasti^[1] (a) ^[2]. From whom removed are the many sins of the Kali-age (Plate 1, l. 1), (b) who has been sanctified by the pure water of the confluence of the rivers Mahānadi (line 3) and Telā (l. 2) which water is adorned with the liquid eddies crested with foam-flowers (l. 2) which glitter with moonbeams (lines 1 and 2) as are made of the purest cooling rays (l. 1) and are like the nectar of Dharma itself (l. 1), (c) who is devoted to the works of merit or Dharma, (d) who caused many men to build (l. 4) many temples for various gods and the *Mandapa* (royal pavilion) in the Arāma or park for Vihāra (pleasurable recreation) together with Udyāna or garden (l. 4), (e) whose charming person (Vapur-Manohara) has been dyed yellow (Dhusarita) by the pollen grains of the sweet-scented-flowers hanging in bunches and tossing [in the breeze] (l. 5) under the shade of flower-trees^[3] of various kinds (l. 4), (f) who is followed and surrounded by friends and companions (l. 6) who are Vidagdha Bhujanga^[4] (l. 5) (crafty libertines), (g) who dallies with (l. 8) loveliest girls (Vara-kaminī) radiant like the kuvalaya-lotus (l. 7) whose lotus-like faces bloom and glow with amorous charms (Vibhrama) arising from lustful and delight-giving desires (l. 6)

[1] Familiar auspicious words at starting.

[2] The numerous adjective clauses have been demarcated by the letters (a), (b), (c), etc., for the convenience of the readers.

[3] This translation is after my tentative reading of Vitapitala for Vitayastana or Vitayatala of the text.

[4] Vidagdha means crafty or lovely and Bhujanga means a libertine or a dissolute friend of a King. It is notorious that the Kings took a special delight in keeping Vidusakas who are described as faithful fools rather spoony on the other sex. The next following sentences show that it was a point of glory with some Kings of old that they freely enjoyed the company of charming girls.

and whose glances were delightful because of the playful movements of the eyebrows (*l.* 7), (*h*) whose *uras* (breast) grows eager with desires by the music of many birds, (*i*) who makes it the fit occasion for his leisure by coming out of his house^[5] (*l.* 9) on hearing the sound of the peacocks (*l.* 8) which is like the sound of the Tūrya (trumpet) (*l.* 9), (*j*) who dwells (*l.* 11) at PATTANA SUBARNAPURA (*l.* 10) [where exists the goddess] Bhagabati Panchāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā (*l.* 10)—who at the prayer of all people for their desired-for boons grants them in her mercy (*ll.* 9 and 10), (*k*) who is exceedingly mighty (Atisaya-ūrjita) in his victorious campaigns, (*l*) who is bent, as it were, with the weight of his own prowess (*l.* 11), (*m*) whose footstool (Padapiṭhol) is kissed by the crest-jewels (*l.* 12) of the head-gears of all the Nripatis or Subordinate Kings (*l.* 11), (*n*) who in character resembles such renowned (Prathita) Kings as Nala, Nahusa, Māndhātā, Dilipa, Bharata and Bhagīratha (*ibid.*, *l.* 12 and *l.* 1 on Plate 2, page 1), (*o*) who has conquered Karnāta, Lāta, the lord of Gujrāt (gurjesvara), (*p*) who is the conqueror of Dravīda country^[6], (*q*) who is the paramour of the Bhū (the world) (Plate 2, page 1, *l.* 1), (*r*) who has taken off like a lustful lover (Lampatah) the tinkling waist girdle^[7] (kanchī) [of a girl]—that is to say, who has denuded the kanchī country of its glory (*ibid.*, *ll.* 1 and 2), (*s*) who has been elected in a Svayambara as their lord by the countries of Kalinga, Kōṅgada, Utkala and Kosala (*ibid.*, *l.* 2), (*t*) whose body has been cooled by the wind in the sky (Umbara) raised in the victorious assault against the noted countries of Gāuda and Rādha (*ibid.*, *ll.* 2 and 3), (*u*) who is the full moon in the pure sky of Vanga (Bengal), and (*v*) who has become the lord of the Trikalinga countries by having conquered them with his own arms (*ibid.*, *ll.* 3 and 4)—he it is Sri Mahasiva

[5] Proper construction of Bhavanadabatirya with the other portion of the text, in this grammatically defective composition, was rather difficult; my translation of this small portion may be treated as tentative.

[6] This is the translation of Dravidajayi as correct reading suggested by me.

[7] Kanchi stands for Conjevoram as well as the ladies' girdle called kanchi—for a pun in the sentence.

Gupta Sri Yayātideva, (*w*) who is Mahārājādhīrāja and overlord (Paramesvara), (*x*) whose feet many Rājanyas (minor Rājās) worship by bowing themselves down, and (*y*) who himself meditates upon the feet of Sri Mahābhava Gupta who was a great devout worshipper of Mahesvara and was highly honourable (P. Bhattaraka),—is present here in peace (कुसली) [*ibid*, ll. 4-6].

IV.—Note on some Prehistoric Stone Implements found in the Ranchi District.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The first recorded discovery of stone implements in the Rānchi District appears to have been that of a beautifully-made solitary stone celt found by Professor Valentine Ball, F.R.S., at the foot of a small hill near the village of Burhādi in *thana* Tāmār, and described by him in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1870 (page 268). The only other find hitherto recorded was that of a few small stone arrow-heads, both of the leaf-shaped and of the chisel-edged patterns, a few polished celts, besides two stone polishers, some worked cores and flakes and a number of stone beads, discovered by Mr. W. H. P. Driver at Rānchi and described by Professor J. Wood-Mason in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1888 (Vol. LXII, pages 387-396).

About a year and a half ago my attention was drawn to the occurrence in the Rānchi District of these stone implements by a triangular stone axe-head (Plate I, fig. 21) presented to me by a Mundā client who believed it to have been a thunder-bolt and had kept it in his house for its supposed curative virtues. It was a splendid specimen of a stone celt almost wholly chipped, the edge alone having been ground to a high polish partly due to its having been rubbed by its finder against another piece of stone as often as it was required for medicinal purpose. I then set about collecting ancient stone implements in the Rānchi District, and within the last eighteen months my collection has reached up to nearly a hundred celts and fragments of celts besides certain other relics of the Stone Age. A few of these were picked up by me and the rest collected mostly from Mundās and Orāons who either ploughed or dug them up in their fields

or picked them up while grazing their cattle. Besides these I have secured two beautiful polished quartzite celts from the Hazāribāgh District of Chōtā Nāgpur.

In my paper on "Some Remains of the Ancient Asuras in the Rānchi District" published in the last issue of this Journal, reference was made to a few stone implements found in or near some of the reputed Asura sites. The bulk of the stone implements collected by me in the Rānchi District are, however, unconnected with Asura sites, and would seem to belong to an antiquity more remote than that of the Asura period of Chōtā Nāgpur history.

Whereas traditions about the ancient Asuras are still widespread in the Rānchi District and implements and ornaments of copper dug up now and then in the district are invariably attributed to those pre-Mundā inhabitants of the district, no traditions have survived of the earlier race of men who made these stone celts for use as common implements of every-day life. In fact, these are no longer considered by the people of Chōtā Nāgpur as the work of man's hands at all, but are invariably believed to have been "thunder-bolts", and are commonly known as "ther-pāthhal" or "ther-diri" (thunder-stone). The finders of a few of the stone-celts in my collection assured me in perfect good faith that they were actual thunder-bolts picked up by themselves on or near the spots where lightning had struck shortly before their discovery. Some Orāons further told me that these "lightning stones" fall from the sky to strike down *bhuts* or evil spirits residing in particular trees. It is believed that although these "thunder-bolts" penetrate the ground to some depth, they gradually return to the surface after a time.

Owing to this supposed celestial origin of these stone-celts, medicinal virtues are generally attributed to them by many people in the Rānchi District as elsewhere in India and in many other parts of the globe. In cases of headache, difficult urination, rheumatic or other pain in any part of the body, and in affections of the lungs, water with which one of these "lightning-stones" has been rubbed over another flat stone, is applied to the

affected part. Perforated rock-crystal beads occasionally dug out in the fields or found in ancient cinerary urns are valued as a cure for certain kinds of fever. They are popularly called "rāti-jārā" (lit., 'night-fever') stones and are believed to be particularly effective in fevers in which the attacks begin at night-time.

Besides being valued for their supposed curative virtues mentioned above, stone-celts are in some villages regarded as preservatives against lightning. But, in a few Mundā villages, on the other hand, I found quite the opposite belief,—people finding a stone-celt having been known to have thrown it away for fear of its attracting lightning strokes to the house in which it may be kept. In some other villages again, I have found the people indifferent about these stone-celts which are either thrown away as useless or given to the children to be used as playthings, one or two suitable ones being sometimes kept for use as hones or whet-stones for knives and razors. Finally, the use of stone implements for symbolic or religious purposes, though rare, is not altogether unknown. In at least one Hindu village near Rānchi a few stone-celts have been known to have been kept along with a number of stones of different fantastic shapes all placed in a heap and collectively venerated as Mahādeo⁽¹⁾; and in a Mundā village near Khūnti I found a highly polished hammer made of compact silicate, probably jade, being painted with vermilion and worshipped as a Mahādeo⁽²⁾. In one or two Orāon villages, I found a peculiar belief in the protective virtue of stone-celts which are carried during night journeys as charms against attacks by ghosts or spirits.

The materials of which the stone implements hitherto found by me in the Rānchi District are formed are mostly quartzite and various kinds of schistose and gneissose rocks.

(1) Unfortunately these stone-celts and other stones have recently disappeared having been taken away by different people on the erection of a brick built temple and a grooved stone siva-lingam of the orthodox type on the spot.

(2) This has been described in my paper on "Some Remains of the Ancient Asuras in the Ranchi District"; in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. I, Part II, pages 229-253.

Except a few in my collection which have no particular shape, the others have more or less geometrically perfect shapes. The prevailing forms of these implements are chisels and adzes, triangular axe-heads of various sizes with either flat or convex faces and either broad or pointed butt-ends, and thick rounded axes apparently used unmounted in the hand. The sides are mostly rounded to meet the faces and are almost straight from butt to corner of the blade. The faces are generally convex and thickest near the middle, converging both ways towards the butt and the edge.

In some cases the edges are formed by the gradual slope of the faces, and in others they are bevelled near the edge so as to form a sharp slope in one or both faces. Some of the larger celts have the peculiarity of having one of the faces concave or plain and the other convex; and a few have depressions on the sides probably meant for the grip. With the exception of one ovoid 'turtle-back' implement (figure 23) which has an edge all round, or, rather, of which the sides, edge, and butt all together form one continuous band,—the other celts have all single edges mostly crescentic in form. Perforated implements are rarely found in the district. I have hitherto succeeded in finding one complete hammer-head with a shaft-hole, and the half of another, besides a fragment of what appears to have been a perforated axe-head.⁽¹⁾ Two hammers or pounding stones each with a knob at one end, besides a few grindstones or polishers and low stone-stools have also been discovered.⁽¹⁾ I have also found beads of quartz crystal and other stones in large quantities, particularly in association with ancient interments⁽¹⁾.

Most of the stone-celts in my collection were found either in or near the surface of the soil, two only having been found in river-beds. The majority of the celts again are polished over the whole surface, a few are chipped and not ground except at the edge, and still fewer are merely chipped into shape and not

⁽¹⁾ This has been described in my paper on "Some Remains of the Ancient Asuras in the Ranchi District", in the *J.B.O.R.S.*, Volume I, Pt. II, pages 229-253.

ground even at the edge,—the edges having been formed by their peculiar conchoidal fracture.

Although relics of the Palæolithic period are not so well marked in Chōtā Nāgpur, there appear to be abundant relics of the Neolithic period, particularly in the southern and south-eastern parts of the Rānchi District; and from the association of some stone objects with the reputed sites of the ancient Asuras in whose interments relics of the Copper Age abound, it would seem that the use of stone beads and certain stone implements, tools, and articles of household use, continued well on into the Copper Age—and even into the Early Iron Age.

It may not be out of place to notice here that such stone implements from the Mānbhum District and the Santāl Parganās as I have hitherto seen are generally more highly polished and shew a greater variety of shapes and would therefore seem to belong to a somewhat later age than the majority of the Rānchi celts. (1) And the same may be said of the ancient stone beads from the Santāl Parganās of which a small collection has been recently presented to our Society by the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. A. Campbell.

In the preparation of the subjoined description of some select specimens from my collection, I thankfully acknowledge my indebtedness for material assistance to my geologist friend, Mr. S. K. Biswas, M.A. My thanks are also due to my friend Mr. P. K. Banerjee, M.A., B.L.

Figure 1—represents one of the finest specimens in my collection. It is a heavy broad-bladed axe made of highly

(1) Three stone celts from Manbhum have been presented to the Society by the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. A. Campbell, and a small collection (made for him by Rev. P. O. Bodding) of stone implements from the Santal Parganas has been presented to the Society by the Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S. Rev. Mr. Bodding has also described some specimens from the Santāl Parganās in *J.A.S.B.*, LXXX, Pt. III, No. 1 (1901), and LXXIII, Part III, No. 2 (1904).

Since the above was in type, the Rev. Mr. Bodding has very kindly presented me with some stone-celts from the Santal Parganas.

ornamental quartzite streaked grey and white. It was found at village Omtō (police-station Rānchi). It is highly polished and of excellent finish, triangular in shape and perfectly symmetrical. The faces are convex and skilfully rounded to form the sides, so that a section across the faces and sides represents a perfect ellipse. The faces slope gradually to form a slightly crescentic blade which meets the sides at sharp angles, the greatest breadth being just above the edge from one corner to another. The slightly curved side and the convex faces taper to a pointed butt. One corner of the blade is broken. Its dimensions are :—length, 18 cms.; breadth,—of the original blade, 9 cms.,—of the present broken blade, 7 cms.; thickness at the middle, 3·5 cms.

Figure 2—represents a medium-sized triangular polished celt in hornblende or pyroxine schist, from village Chācho Nawātoli (police-station Māndār). The colour is grey with dark patches. It has a crescentic edge and flattened sides slightly tapering to a flat straight butt. Its faces are very slightly convex, and the angles which they make with the sides are only slightly bevelled and the last quarters of the faces slope sharper than the rest and form a slightly flattened edge which meets the sides at sharp angles. Its dimensions are :—length, 7·5 cms.; breadth,—at the edge, 5·5 cms. and at the butt-end, 3·5 cms.; thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 3—represents a highly polished wedge-shaped chisel made of compact dark green quartzite (resembling flint). It was found at village Sōdāg (police-station Rānchi). The straight flat sides broaden towards the thick flat butt, and the corners are slightly bevelled. The slightly convex faces gradually become broader and broader and finally slope towards the crescentic edge which is much impaired shewing signs of rough use. Its dimensions are :—length, 8 cms.; breadth,—at the edge, 5·5 cms.,—at the butt, 3·5 cms.; thickness near the butt, 1·5 cms.

Figure 4—represents a beautifully designed and highly polished celt from village Arrā (police-station Rānchi). It is made of compact silicious schist and has a fine symmetrical triangular shape. It is reddish grey in colour. Its convex faces

meet the flat sides imperceptibly, the corners being skilfully bevelled. The sides and faces all taper towards a narrow, thin, and slightly rounded butt. The crescentic edge is much impaired and blunted. Its dimensions are :—length, 10·5 cms. ; breadth,—at the blade, 5 cms.,—at the butt, 1·5 cms. ; greatest thickness, 2·5 cms.

Figure 5—represents a chisel of compact basalt from village Kākṛā (police-station Rānchi). The faces are plano-convex, and the sides taper to a narrow flat butt. It is chipped all over except at the edge which is polished. Towards the blade the faces are bevelled to a crescentic edge which meets one side at a sharp acute angle, the other corner being broken. Its colour is reddish grey. The dimensions are :—length, 9·5 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 6 cms.,—of the butt, 2 cms. ; thickness, 3 cms.

Figure 6—shews a broad chisel of dark grey siliceous schist from village Chēnēgutū (police-station Khūnti). The sides are sloping, and the slightly crescentic edge is formed by beveling off principally the front face and slightly the back face. The flat butt meets the sides almost at right angles. The corners of the blade are slightly rounded to meet the sides. Its dimensions are :—length, 6·25 cms. ; breadth,—at the blade, 3·75 cms.,—of the butt, 2 cms. ; thickness, 1 cm.

Figure 7—represents a small chisel made of grey gneiss, from village Sālgi (police-station Khūnti). The faces are almost flat but highly bevelled towards the lower part to form the crescentic blade. The sides are rough and unsymmetrical, but are slightly rounded to meet the faces and taper towards a broad flat butt. The blade is much damaged. The dimensions are :—length, 7·5 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 5 cms.,—of the butt, 2·5 cms. ; thickness near the blade, 2 cms.

Figure 8—shows a polished chisel made of soft grey siliceous slaty rock, found at village Būrju (police-station Khūnti). The edge and butt are rounded, and the faces which are convex almost meet in the slightly flattened sides. One of the faces is more bevelled to meet the edge which is much impaired through

nse. The dimensions are :—length, 9·5 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 5 cms.,—near the butt, 2·5 cms. ; thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 9—shows a small polished celt from village Janūmpiri (police-station Khūnti). It is made of brown æonic tinted rock. The sides are straight and flat and slightly bevelled to meet the convex faces, and taper towards a narrow irregular butt. One of the faces slopes more than the other to form the crescentic blade which is rounded to meet the sides. The dimensions are :—length, 7·5 cms.; breadth,—near the edge, 5 cms.,—at the butt, 1·75 cms. ; thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 10—represents a chisel of soft greyish white schistose stone from village Bindā (police-station Khūnti). It is partly polished. One of its faces is convex and the other flat but bevelled highly to form the blade which is rounded. The sides are quite irregular but generally taper towards the butt which is thin, narrow and rounded. The dimensions are :—length, 8·25 cms. ; breadth,—at the blade, 3·5 cms.,—near the butt, 1 cm. ; thickness near the blade, 1·75 cms.

Figure 11—represents a small polished celt with convex faces well rounded to meet the broad sides. It was found at village Sopārōm (police-station Rānchi). The material which is compact gneiss is much weathered and the specimen is thickly covered with a brown coating. The rounded edge formed by the gradual slope of the faces, meets the sides in well rounded corners so as to form a continuous band with the sides. The sides and faces taper towards a fine butt. The dimensions are :—length, 6 cms. ; greatest breadth, 2·75 cms. ; greatest thickness, 1·5 cms.

Figure 12—represents a thin chisel formed of dark grey silicious schist, from village Chendāgutū (police-station Khūnti). The faces are almost flat, but bevelled towards the edge to form the crescentic blade which is much impaired. The edge makes sharp angles with the sides which are rough and straight but slightly rounded to meet the faces, and converge towards the rough rectangular flat butt. The dimensions are :—length, 11·5 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 6·25 cms.,—of the butt, 2·75 cms. ; thickness, 1·5 cms.

Figure 13—represents a thin elongated celt, mostly chipped but slightly polished, made of indurate schist. It was found at Iti (police-station Khūnti). The edge which is rounded is broken, being either damaged by use or chipped at the time of manufacturing. The faces are convex, and the sides flat. The butt is rounded. The dimensions are :—length, 10 cms. ; breadth,—near the blade, 5·25 cms.,—near the butt, 3·25 cms. ; thickness near the middle, 1·75 cms.

Figure 14—represents a chipped chisel in quite a crude state, only slightly polished, made of dark green compact gneiss. It was found at village Pāngura (police-station Khūnti). The sides are not symmetrical, one side being straight and the other rounded. The sides taper towards a flat butt unequally disposed between the sides. The faces are nearly flat but slope gently towards the edge which is circular and not at all polished but only pecked. The middle of the edge has been recently broken. The dimensions are :—length, 10·5 cms. ; breadth of the oblique butt, 3·5 cms. ; greatest thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 15—represents a well-polished broken celt of dark grey compact gneiss, from village Bindā (police-station Khūnti). The convex faces slope gradually towards each other and meet to form the straight sides and rounded edge. The edge and sides meet at well-rounded angles and form one continuous band. A portion of the upper part is broken, and the butt, as it is, is broken and quite irregular. Its dimensions are :—length, 7 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 5·5 cms.,—of the broken butt, 5 cms. ; thickness of the butt, 2 cms.

Figure 16—represents a broad flat-bladed axe of siliceous schist, also from Bindā (police-station Khūnti). Both the faces are well polished, and slope downwards to form the edge which is broader than the general breadth of the implement. The thick rounded butt meets the flat sides which are almost parallel up to about a quarter of their length from the blade upwards towards the butt. The dimensions are :—length, 9·75

cms. ; breadth,—of the edge, 5.25 cms.,—near the butt, 4 cms. ; thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 17—represents a broken broad-bladed axe of amphibole schist, from village Chendāgutū (police-station Khūnti). The polished convex faces slope towards each other to form the crescentic edge, the corners of which are well rounded to meet the sides. The sides are broad but rounded to meet the faces, and appear to taper very slightly towards the butt. The dimensions of the present broken axe-head are :—length, 6.5 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 7.5 cms.,—of the broken butt, 7 cms. ; thickness of the butt, 2.5 cms.

Figure 18—shews a crude chisel only slightly polished near the edge and sides, from village Sembua (police-station Khūnti). It is made of pyroxine or amphibole schist and is coated with a brownish red decomposition product. The faces are flat and rough, and the sides are of unequal length and unsymmetrical—one of the sides being straight and the other slightly curved. The edge which is crescentic is much impaired, the corners are rounded and so also is the butt which is narrower than the edge. The dimensions are :—length, 10.5 cms. ; breadth,—near the blade, 5 cms.,—near the butt, 2.75 cms. ; thickness, 1 cm.

Figure 19—represents a polished rectangular broad-edged axe-head from village Bindā (police-station Khūnti). It is made of gneissose rock, and is coated with a brownish red decomposition product. The faces which are very slightly convex—almost flat—meet the flat but rounded sides which run almost parallel to each other. One of the faces slope more than the other near the blade and form the crescentic edge which meets the sides at sharp angles. The rough (probably broken) butt is quite flat and meets the sides almost at right angles. The dimensions are :—length, 7.5 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 6.5 cms.,—of the butt (probably broken), 5.5 cms. ; average thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 20—represents the broken lower half of a broad axe made of dark grey gneiss, found at village Torangkel

(police-station Khūnti). The flat parallel sides are rounded to meet the convex faces which slope downward to form a fine broad sharp crescentic edge meeting the sides symmetrically at wide angles. Though having numerous pecked depressions, the specimen is well-polished. Long-continued exposure has resulted in the formation of a patina over the surface. The dimensions are:—length (of the present broken celt), 6 cms.; breadth near the blade, 8 cms.; thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 21—represents an elongated broad-bladed axe from village Gora (police-station Khūnti). It is a large and heavy celt formed of compact silicious rock. The specimen is broadest near the blade. The sides are straight but taper towards the butt which is pointed. Both the sides and faces are pecked, not polished; only the parts of the faces just near the edge are polished to form a rounded crescentic edge. One of the faces is convex and the other almost flat, only slightly concave,—thus making the implement suitable for gripping. The dimensions are:—length, 20 cms.; breadth,—near the blade, 8·5 cms.,—of the rounded butt (5 cms. from the apex), 2·5 cms.; thickness in the middle, 3 cms.

Figure 22—represents a large elongated celt of dark grey schist from village Bindā (police-station Khūnti). The surface has become yellowish through weathering. The front face is distinctly convex and the other face rather flattish. The sides and faces are rounded and polished but uneven and ill-finished. The sides taper gently towards the crescentic edge as well as towards the flat butt,—the broadest point being just in the middle. The sides and edge form one continuous band. Its dimensions are:—length, 16·5 cms.; breadth,—at the edge, 6 cms.,—in the middle, 6·5 cms.,—at the butt, 3·5 cms.; thickness, 2·75 cms.

Figure 23—shews what looks like a palæolithic implement of compact grey quartzite from village Jurdāg (police-station Karrā). The surface has become coated over with a greyish white decomposition product. The faces which are both convex are chipped into shape and meet one another to form the sides,

edge and butt,—all forming one continuous band, having roughly an oval shape resembling that of a small turtle. The dimensions are :—length, 15 cms.; breadth, 10 cms.; thickness, 3 cms.

Figure 24—represents an elongated axe-head formed of amphibole schist, found at village Pāndu (police-station Khūnti). The faces are flat and slope from the butt towards the crescentic and blunt blade which has been formed by bevelling the faces. The sides are flat but slightly rounded to meet the faces, and are parallel to each other from the edge up to the middle and then go on tapering towards the butt which is thick and rounded. The dimensions are :—length, 17 cms.; average breadth of the lower half, 6 cms.; breadth of the butt, 3 cms.; thickness near the butt, 2 cms.

Figure 25—represents a large cylindrical celt made of hard greyish gneiss, from village Bindā (police-station Khūnti). The specimen is broken on both faces of the edge and near the butt, thus exposing fresher core. Weathering has made the surface soft and tinted it yellow. A section at the middle is elliptical, almost approaching a circle. The sides taper slightly towards both ends but the faces are distinctly convex and meet at both ends forming a crescentic edge and a narrow flat butt. The dimensions are :—length, 18 cms.; breadth,—near the edge, 4 cms.,—in the middle, 6 cms.,—near the butt, 3 cms.; thickness, 5 cms.

Figure 26—represents a heavy broad polished axe of greenish grey gneiss, found by the side of river Tājnā, near village Senegutu (police-station Khūnti). Its crescentic blade, straight sides, and pointed butt, all together form an isosceles triangle with slightly rounded angles. The sides are broad but well-rounded to meet the faces, and more convergent to each other near the butt. One of the faces is highly convex, and the other slightly concave but sloping towards the other side near the edge. When looked at sideways, the specimen presents a curved shape. The dimensions are :—length, 16 cms.; breadth,—from corner to corner of the blade, 7 cms.,—near the butt, 3 cms.; thickness in the middle, 2.70 cms.

Figure 27—represents a broad chisel from village Chendāgutu (police-station Khūnti). It is formed of dark grey gneiss, coated with a brownish red decomposition product. The faces are flat and polished and are well rounded to meet the sides and slope gently to form a broad and slightly crescentic edge. The edge which is broken at one corner, meets the sides at sharp angles. The butt is broken and irregular. The sides which are almost parallel to each other are slightly depressed towards the middle probably to make the implement suitable for gripping. The dimensions are :—length, 10·5 cms.; breadth—of the original blade, 7·5 cms.,—of the present broken blade, 5·5 cms.,—at the middle, 7 cms.,—of the broken butt, 7 cms.; thickness of the butt, 2·75 cms.

Figure 28—represents an elongated crude celt of phyllitic rock, only chipped and not polished. It was found at village Mūrūd (police-station Khūnti). The edge which is crescentic is rough and irregular, and meets the sides at rounded angles, the sides taper towards a narrow and rounded butt. The faces are almost flat but are slightly rounded to meet the sides. The dimensions are :—length, 13 cms.; breadth,—of the blade, 5 cms.,—a little above the blade, 5 cms.,—of the butt, 2·5 cms.; average thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 29—shows a small polished celt from village Kākṛā (police-station Rānchi). It is formed of grey compact quartzite. The straight edge is much impaired and meets the flat parallel sides in sharp angles. The sides are rough and meet the slightly convex faces at sharp angles. This specimen has the general shape of a rectangle. The thickness is greatest at the middle from which point the faces slope both ways—towards the edge and also towards the butt. The flat butt, though barely rounded to meet the faces, meets the sides at sharp angles. The dimensions are :—length, 5·5 cms.; breadth,—of the blade, 3·25 cms.,—of the butt, 2·5 cms.; thickness at the middle, 2 cms.

Figure 30—represents a rectangular polished chisel from village Chendāgutu (police-station Khūnti). It is manufactured of a basaltic rock coated with a brownish red decomposition

product. The sides, which are flat and parallel to each other are barely rounded to meet the slightly convex faces which slope both ways to form the edge and butt. The original shape of the edge which is much impaired, was probably crescentic. The butt is similar in shape to the edge, but is slightly narrower. The dimensions are :—length, 6·25 cms. ; breadth,—of the blade, 3·5 cms.,—of the butt, 3 cms. ; thickness at the middle, 1·4 cms.

Figure 31—shows a crude chisel made of grey silicious schist, also from village Chendāgutu (police-station Khūnti). The polished but uneven faces are slightly convex, and slope downwards to form an irregularly rounded edge which meets the sides at widely rounded angles. The sides are unsymmetrically disposed, one being straight and the other curved and bevelled to meet the faces. The flat rough butt meets the sides almost at right angles. The dimensions are :—length, 9·5 cms. ; breadth,—of the edge, 5·5 cms. ;—of the butt, 4 cms. ; thickness, 1·75 cms.

Figure 32—represents an unfinished celt, partly chipped and partly polished, made of brown, æonic tinted basalt. The material is much weathered, the butt is broken, and a part of the edge only recently broken. With the exception of the sharp cutting edge, the specimen appears to be unfinished. The edge is flat but slightly rounded at the corners to meet the sides which are thick, and meets the faces in slightly rounded angles. The dimensions are :—length, 13·5 cms. ; breadth,—at the middle, 6·5 cms.,—of the butt, 5 cms. ; thickness lower down the butt, 3·5 cms.

Figure 33—represents a well-polished small triangular celt manufactured of white quartzite with red and black spots and streaks. It was found at village Bindā (police-station Khūnti). It has a crescentic hatchet edge and tapering rounded butt ; the convex faces almost meet in slightly flattened sides. The butt, sides and edge form one continuous uninterrupted band. The specimen is perfectly symmetrical in shape and of beautiful design and finish. It appears to have been little used. The

dimensions are:—length, 6·25 cms.; breadth,—of the blade, 3·75 cms.,—of the butt, 1·5 cms.; thickness, 1·5 cms.

Figure 34—represents another small hatchet, edged celt of beautiful design and finish, made of grey and white quartz rock, also from the same village (Bindā, police-station Khūnti). The sides are flat and barely rounded off to meet the faces which are convex: The butt is thin and round, and forms with the sides one continuous band which terminates in sharp angles at each end of the crescentic blade. The edge-is perfectly symmetrical and quite sharp. The dimensions are:—length, 3·75 cms.; breadth,—of the blade, 3·5 cms.;—at the butt, 2 cms.; thickness, 1 cm.

Figure 35—represents another small highly polished hatchet-edged celt made of streaked grey and whitish quartzite. The sides are unequal but well rounded, and meet the convex faces with an almost imperceptible slope. The blade is almost straight but unsymmetrically disposed between the sides which taper towards the narrow flat broken butt. The dimensions are:—length, from butt to one corner of the blade, 4·75 cms.,—from the butt to the other corner of the blade, 4 cms.; breadth,—near the blade, 2·75 cms.,—at the butt, 1 cm.; thickness, 1·25 cms.

Figure 36—represents a chisel partly polished and partly chipped, manufactured of hornblende gneiss, found at village Inlpiri (police-station Khūnti). The faces are convex and the sides which are chipped are rounded to meet the faces. The lower ends of the faces are highly bevelled and polished to form a sharp crescentic blade, one corner of which is broken. Both faces and sides converge and taper towards a narrow flat butt. The dimensions are:—length 12 cms.; breadth—near the blade, 5 cms.,—near the butt 2·5 cms.; thickness, 2 cms.

Figure 37—shews the broken upper half of a chisel with thick rounded sides and pointed butt, from village Buruhatu (police-station Khūnti). It is manufactured of silicious slate. One of the faces is flat and the other convex. Towards the middle of the sides there are two or three depressions making the instrument suitable for gripping.

1870-1871. The first year of the
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought. The second year was a
very wet one, and the crops were
much injured by the water.

The third year was a very dry
one, and the crops were much
injured by the drought. The
fourth year was a very wet one,
and the crops were much injured
by the water. The fifth year was
a very dry one, and the crops
were much injured by the drought.

The sixth year was a very wet
one, and the crops were much
injured by the water. The seventh
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought.

The eighth year was a very wet
one, and the crops were much
injured by the water. The ninth
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought.

The tenth year was a very wet
one, and the crops were much
injured by the water. The eleventh
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought.

The twelfth year was a very wet
one, and the crops were much
injured by the water. The thirteenth
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought.

The fourteenth year was a very
wet one, and the crops were much
injured by the water. The fifteenth
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought.

The sixteenth year was a very
wet one, and the crops were much
injured by the water. The seventeenth
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought.

The eighteenth year was a very
wet one, and the crops were much
injured by the water. The nineteenth
year was a very dry one, and the
crops were much injured by the
drought.

PLATE I.



Figures of specimens—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 21,
25, 34, 35.

The size of the figures is about one-ninth of the specimens

PLATE II.



Figures of specimens—7, 13, 19, 27, 30, 41, 44.

The size of the figures is about one-ninth of the specimens.

PLATE III.



Figures of specimens—12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23,
24, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45.

The size of the figures is about one-ninth of the specimens.

PLATE IV.



Figures of specimens—11, 14, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33,
36, 37, 42.

The size of the figures is about one-ninth of the specimens.

V.—The Empire of Bindusara.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.

THE only matters which are generally known up to this time about Emperor Bindusāra are—(1) that at his court Megasthenes was succeeded by Deimachos and that he made a friendly requisition on Antiochos Soter, king of Syria, to send him a professor, some figs and some raisin wine; * (2) that his epithet was something like *Amitraghāta*; † (3) and that he was succeeded by Asoka who added only Kalinga to the empire left by the former.

But there are some data unnoticed hitherto, which, I think, render the figure of the emperor less 'shadowy'.‡ The data prove (1) that Bindusāra continued the process of the unification of India after his great father Chandragupta; (2) that in this undertaking he, like his father, had the help of the counsel of the Chancellor Kautilya § (Chānakya); (3) that this Mauryan Bismarck, before his death, saw the imperial system much extended: all the land between the 'Western and the Eastern oceans', comprising about 16 capitals, was brought under the imperial control;

Fresh data.

* Probably in the days of Bindusara the raisin wine, the favourite *Madhu* of the Hindus, was imported generally from the North-Western Provinces of Kapisa and Arachosia. मृदुकोरसो मधु। तस्य खदेशो व्याख्यानम् कपिशायनम् हारहरकमिति । Artha-Sastra, page 120, "Raisin-juice is the *Madhu*. Its place of origin is (denoted by) its name the *Kapisagana* ('one which has its home in Kapisa') the *Harahraka* [the Arachosian]." Bindusara seems to have preferred the Persian manufacture. Cf. also Kalidasa, Raghu, IV, 6.

† According to Dr. Fleet *Amitra-khada* (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 24); contra Keith, *ibid.*, 423 *et seq.*

‡ Early History of India (1908), p. 140.

§ A note on Chanakya: He was son of Chanaka (Telang's *Mudra-Rakshasa*, Upodghata, 48, 49), who was a follower of the Ausanasa School of Politics and was himself author of a treatise on politics, and who had also thoroughly studied Jyotisha. Chanakya, whose personal name was Vishnugupta, knew all the law

(4) that the administration of Bindusāra and Chānakya was vigorous, marked with a stern policy in new annexations; (5) that the success was mainly attributed to the policy of the Chancellor whose capacity greatly impressed the popular mind; and (6) that the Chancellor died of some painful disease in the reign of Bindusāra.

All these data which are quite in consonance with the preceding and the succeeding chapters of Mauryan history are to be found in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*. In the beginning of Chapter XVIII, Tāranātha says that Chandragupta's son Bindusāra, born in the land of Gauda, ruled for 35 (a mistake for the Puranic 25) years. "The minister and Brahman Chanakya had his mantra (policy) made very powerful" by having pleased and controlled the God of Death (Yamantaka) himself! "He destroyed kings and ministers of about 16 capitals and made the king undertake a war and brought all the land between the Eastern and Western oceans under his control."* Then follows a passage marked with

and was a Srotriya (*ibid*). The *Kautilyas* descended from the Yaskas who belonged to the family of the Bhrigus (*Gotra pravara-nibandha*, Mysore 1900, p. 32). *Kautili* was another Gotra connected with the same stock (*ibid*, p. 42).

According to the colophon to the Artha-sastra, Chanakya had fought against the Nanda. [येन शास्त्रं च] शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः । अमर्षेणोद्धृतानि, p. 429].

According to Buddhist writers he was a Brahmin from Taxila.

* "Darauf herrschte der im Lande Gaura geborene Sohn Tschandragupta's Namens Bindusara 35 Jahre. Der Minister und Brahmane Tschanakya kannte herbei den groszornigen Jamantaka, nachdem er Sein Antlitz erblickt, wurde die Macht der Mantra Sehr gross. Durch Werke der Bezanberung toedtete er in etwa 16 staedten die Koenige und Minister, und als in Folge dessen der Koenig einen Kriegszug unternahm, brachte er das zwischen dem oestlichen und Westlichen ocean belegene Land in Seine gewalt." Schiefner, p. 89.

Da toedtete dieser Brahmane durch "Verschiedene Hinrichtungs-Vorkehrungen 3000 Menschen, durch Betaubungsmittel bethoerte er 10,000 Menschen; ferner vertrich, entzweite er, machte starr und stumm u. s. w. In Folge der Suende vielen Menschen geschadet zu haben, starb er an einer Krankheit, durch welche der Koerper in Theile Zerfiel und Wurde in def hoello Wieder-geboren." *Ibid*.

theological acrimony and exaggeration : 3,000 men were executed in political precaution, and 10,000 were drugged and intoxicated, who consequently fought between themselves. For these sins he suffered from an illness, 'his body reaching the hell in bits'.*

Now let us consider the direction into which the conquests of Bindusāra lay. I cannot agree with Mr. Vincent Smith (Early History, p. 38) that the limits of the Nanda dominions cannot be defined. An analysis of the available data † shows that the valleys of the Jamuna and the Ganges and the country up to the Narmada in the west, *i.e.*, nearly the whole of Northern India, except the Punjab, Sind, and Northern Rajputana, had passed under 'the one-umbrella' of Padma the Great, before the rise of Chandragupta.‡ Chandragupta undoubtedly added to that vast empire the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, and presumably also (as it appears from the Arthasastra) Nepal and Kashmir.

Conquests of the predecessors of Bindusara.

There is an indication of the fact that Chandragupta could not have diverted his attention to the South, that his work in the North fully occupied his attention. Apart from his war and a constant vigilance against his Hellenic neighbours§ he had still to obliterate a number of republics in Sind, the Punjab, and on the slopes of the Himalayas. The Arthasastra (pages 376—379) lays down minute directions for their reduction.

* According to the Divyavadana, Radha-gupta was the Chancellor in the last days of Bindusara. It seems that Radha-gupta succeeded Chanakya.

† Saisunaka Chronology, § 22, *J. B. O. R. S.*, I.

‡ Chandragupta not only succeeded to the vast territories of the Magadha empire, but also to the systems of that empire. The most noticeable features of that system are two : a large standing army strong in infantry and war-elephants, and a resourceful financial policy. The Jainas accuse the Nandas of having introduced the practice of taxing hide : skins and furs are carefully taxed in the Arthasastra. The system of raising revenue by leasing out state lands watered by well-kept canals, came down from the earlier empire of Magadha. The earlier Magadha sovereigns were long remembered in Orissa for their irrigation schemes. The fabulous wealth attributed to the Nandas by romance had its basis in the successful financial policy of Maha Padma.

§ The Arthasastra is full of jealousy towards the Mlechchha. He, as a spy, is to be detected amidst the Hindus ('the Aryas') by most artful means. An active system of *contre-espionage* seems to have been at work.

quests of
Bindusāra.

We are told by Tārānātha, who no doubt draws on former authorities, that Bindusāra undertook a war which removed kings and ministers of about 16 capitals. These kings could not have possibly existed in the North. They must have been, therefore, petty sovereigns of the peninsula 'between the Eastern and the Western oceans'. The number 16 of capitals shows that the annexation must have extended over a considerable area. We get a confirmation of this from the site of the Siddapura (Mysore) inscription. In the light of the data in Tārānāthā, we can now assert with some confidence that the parts south of the Narmadā which Asoka inherited from his father, that is, up to about Madras, had been conquered by Bindusāra.*

claves

In the vast empire of Bindusāra from Madras up to the Persian frontier there were two large enclaves of independent states. They were the powerful kingdom of the Andhrast between the Gōdāvary and the Krishnā, and that of its neighbours the Kalingas. How had they been avoided in the march towards Madras from the North? Why had they not been first subjugated, for the route from Māgadha lay through the Kalinga and Andhra territories? The Mahārāshtra and Western ghat route had the barrier of the smaller independent organisations of the Bhojas, the Rāshtrikas, the Satyaputra and the Keralaputra.

* Cf. also Mr. Vincent Smith, E. H. I., pages 130-140.

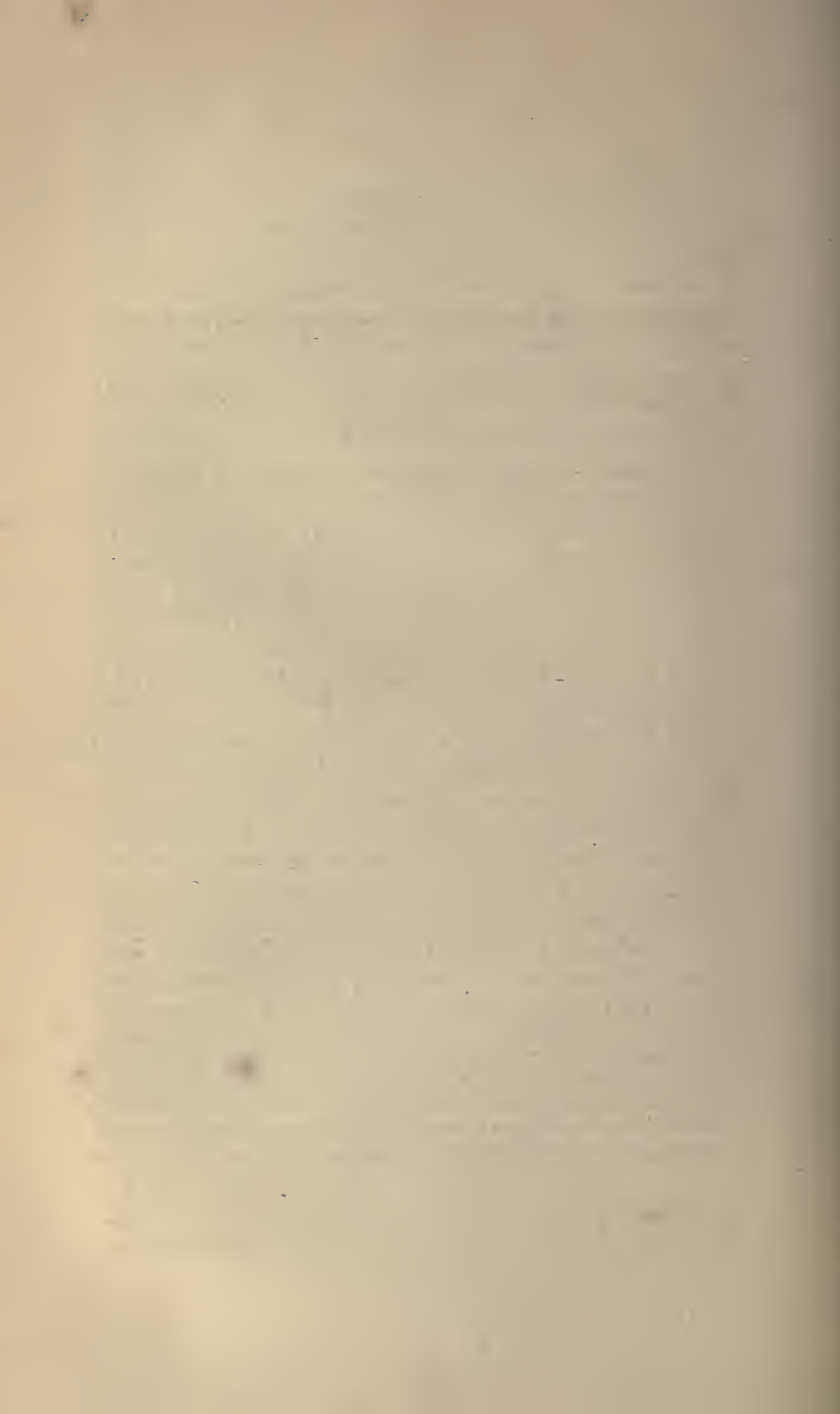
† The Andhras have been called a 'protected state' of Asoka. There does not seem to be any warrant for this. I am afraid, a modern idea has been unconsciously imported into Mauryan history. A 'protected' large kingdom, as the Andhras had would be against all the theories and facts of the early Mauryan system. Rock-edict XIII which says that the *Dharmanusasti* of the King was followed amongst the Andhras, suggested to scholars a political subordination of the Andhras. But it places the Greeks (probably of Bactria) in the same category. The Greeks were certainly not 'protected'. If the Greeks, the Nabhiakas (Nabactans?) and the Andhras by following the *Dharmanusasti* of the King are to be considered as political inferiors, Antiochos and others also would be no better. They were in the dominions 'conquered' by Asoka through his Dharma! To my mind it means nothing more than this, that even peoples outside the pale of Hindu civilization and his dominions followed the ethics accepted by Asoka.

The Andhras, on the evidence of Megasthenes, were very powerful, second only to the Imperial power. They could not be reduced easily. Their neighbours (and probably also their friends), the Kalingas, seem to have been gifted with rare resources and recuperative energy.* It was not a wise step to engage with such dangerous foes. A number of small and weak states, to the south of the Krishnā, therefore, were first subjugated by Bindusāra. To gain a foothold in the rear of the two formidable foes and thus to place them between two fires, seems to have been the policy followed.

The explanation of the other question—how the enclaves were avoided in the Imperial march to the South—appears to be this : the history of the time of Vijaya was repeated. The department of the administration of navy (described by Megasthenes) must have solved the problem. The Imperial ships which carried embassies between India and Ceylon, and presumably also between India and Alexandria, must have carried and landed Imperial forces on the coast of Madras. Navy.

It is not difficult to guess what would have been the fate of the Andhras and the remaining states if Asoka had not turned a political quaker. Had he continued his predecessors' policy, he might have brought actually the whole of Jambudvīpa, from the confines of Persia up to Cape Comorin, 'under the umbrella of one sovereignty', an ideal which has remained ever since unrealized. The accident of the presence on the throne, at a particular juncture in history, of a man who was designed by nature to fill the chair of an abbot, put back events not by centuries but by milleniums. Failure of
Asoka.

* They re-asserted their independence once after the Nandan conquest and again during the rule of the later Mauryas, both times for comparatively short periods. The Kalingas along with other advantages were very strong in war-elephants. The Mahabharata (Bhishma Parva) assigns the largest number of elephants to the king of Kalinga.



MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on the occurrence of copper celts in Manbhum.

By the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. A. Campbell, D.D.

To my own knowledge 27 specimens of copper axe-heads have been found in the Mānbhum district. I got possession of 24; other three that were brought to me I did not take, as, not knowing these bits of copper were of so great interest, I grudged to pay the price to secure them.

There is a range of low hills running almost due east from Paresnath to Pokhuria in the north of the Dhānbād Subdivision. North of this range of hills is the Barākar river, which is the boundary between Mānbhum and the Santāl Parganās, and further west the boundary between Mānbhum and Hāzāribāgh. The axe-heads have so far all been found in the stretch of country between the hills and the Barākar river.

The first, and one of the finest specimens, came into my possession 35 years ago. The Mānjhi of the village of Bisuādi, which is close to Pokhuria, informed me that there was something lying in the jungle in his village. No one knew what it was. It had lain there for a long time and no one had the courage to go close to it to examine it. The herdboys were in the habit, when in that part of the jungle, of going as close to it as they dared, throwing stone in it to make it ring and then flying as fast as they could. I was interested and sent a Christian young man to bring it; no non-Christian dared to go near it. I have shown this particular specimen to many, but no one could give me any idea of what it really was. Rai Bahadur Nanda Gopal Banarji of Purulia gave it as his opinion that it had been used as a halo behind the head of an image.

Since then at intervals specimens have been brought to me, one or two at a time. These were found in the beds of *nalas*, having been evidently washed by the rain out of the soil forming the banks.

About two years ago the great find took place. This consisted of a dozen magnificent specimens, which were dug up by coolies engaged in making the road which goes from the village of Kolber to the boundary of the Hāzāribāgh district. They were found in one lot about a foot below the surface, and brought immediately to me. I acquired the complete find. Those I sent to Rānchi are from this lot. The axe-heads are of various sizes. I have one perfect specimen which weighs only half a seer, and it resembles in shape a modern American axe-head.

The method of manufacturing these axe-heads seems to have been to run the metal into a mould, of the shape of, but thicker and smaller than, the finished article. It was then beaten out to the required thickness. This appears to me to account for the variety in the shape of those that have been found. A little difference in the thickness cast in the mould, or else the metal beaten irregularly, would result in the slight differences in shapes which exist. I possess one of these rough castings.

II.—The Conversion of Santals to Hinduism.

By Satindra Narayan Roy, M.A., B. L.

POLYTHEISM and the want of a rigid cult have ensured a steady flow of converts into the fold of the Hindu religion. It is wrong to suppose that Hinduism is not a proselytizing religion. It is specially adapted for the slow but sure conversion of the aborigines.

In the north of Balasore there is a small village called Lakhannath. It is situated on the river Suvarnarekha. Some fifteen years ago a few Santāl families settled in a portion of this village, which was called after them Santāl Sāi or the Santāl colony. At first they spoke their own language and subsisted mainly by manual labour. They gradually brought a large tract of fallow land under the plough and became independent cultivators and learnt the Oriyā language. They originally ate beef, but the influence of their Hindu neighbours led them to give it up. They also learnt habits of cleanliness. When they first came to the village they used to sleep after the toil of the day, unwashed, with mud on their feet and ankles. But gradually they learnt to take regular ablutions. Some five years ago, they were engaged in digging a tank and so found a large number of stone idols. The proprietor of the tank left the stone idols to their fate. One fine morning the whole Santāl colony was up and doing. After a good deal of carousing they resorted to the spot in a body with pipes and kettle-drums, and cleared the ground and smeared the tallest idol with vermilion. In their forest homes the Santāls used to worship rough unhewn stones and to sacrifice fowls before them. But influenced by their Hindu environment a lamb was now offered instead of a hen. Next year there was an epidemic of cholera. The Santāls

and the Hindu villagers sacrificed two lambs jointly at the altar of this new deity to appease him and to abate the epidemic. The deity was called Kharakhāi, which means a deity living upon sunshine. A Brāhman who had been ostracised for an amour with a Hāri or sweeper woman became the priest of the Santāls and the worship of Kharakhāi. His only duty consisted in renewing the vermillion on the tallest idol when it lost its gloss. At the time of an epidemic the Hindus and the Santāls still offer sacrifices to this deity.

III.—The Evolution of a New Hindu God.

By Satindra Narayan Roy, M.A., B.L.

WITHIN the last fifteen years there has sprung up a new Hindu god whose worship has rapidly spread throughout the districts of Puri, Cuttack, Balāsore and even Midnāpore. This new deity is called Trināth, that is, the incarnation of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahmā. The ceremonies that accompany his worship are very simple. One pice worth of pān (betel-leaves), one pice worth of gānjā (*Cannabis Indica*), one pice worth of oil, are all that is required in the worship of this god. The betel-leaves are placed on a little raised platform after being dressed with betel-nut, catechu and slaked lime. Three ordinary clay lamps, dried in the sun, are then placed on the platform and the wicks lighted with one pice worth of oil. Three *chilims* or smoking-bowls are then filled with one pice worth of *Cannabis Indica* and set fire on. It is distinctly enjoined that no other costly ceremonies are necessary. The worship of Trināth does not take place in a secluded corner of the house. The householders, their friends and relatives, should all assemble before the raised platform where the worship is to take place. It is not necessary that a Brahman should be called in, although the practice is to take the help of the family-priest. When everything is ready on the platform, an Oriyā manuscript written with a style on palm-leaves is read aloud with a sing-song intonation. It describes the origin of this peculiar worship. We have said above that this worship is only fifteen years old. It originated in the village of Sripur, on the bank of a small river called Sonbhadra, a tributary of the Mahānadi. During this short period of fifteen years Trināth worship, as we have seen, has spread far and wide. It is spreading still. Whenever

there is a serious illness in a family, or other small calamity from which no family can be exempt, Trināth is worshipped in the manner prescribed above, both in Oriyā and in Bengali families, in the first quarter of the night. After the worship is over, betel-leaves are freely distributed among those present. Those of the audience, who are addicted to smoking it, take a whiff or two of the sacred *Cannabis Indica*.

The origin of this worship is attributed by the people to the ingenuity of some astute family-priest, who has benefited the priestly class as a whole by placing this worship within the reach of all. By making the presence of the family-priest optional he has raised himself above all adverse criticism. The manuscript that is read aloud at the worship of Trināth is a lengthy one. It takes full three hours to read it quickly. We shall give a short summary of this manuscript which is entitled 'Trināth Charita Akhan', or the story of Trināth. Once upon a time, there lived at Sripur a very poor Brāhman called Madhusudan. He was a beggar by profession. He was one of those itinerant Brāhmins whom Hindu society has enabled to beg from door to door without much loss of self-respect. His wife gave birth to a son, but there was no milk in her breast. The Brāhman could not engage a wet-nurse for want of money. So he sold his brass and bell-metal utensils for rupees five only. But no cow could be had for such an insignificant sum of money. One day Madhusudan was sitting in the house of a big money-lender of the village, who had a herd of three hundred milch cows. This money-lender had a cow, Bula by name, who was very wild and used to do much damage in the fields of his neighbours. While sitting with the Brāhman, the money-lender learnt of the damage done by this cow the night previous. He was very angry, and, in a fit of rage, cried out that he would dispose of the cow for five rupees only. The Brāhman saw a ready solution of the difficulties he was in, and forthwith offered his five rupees. The merchant was now in a fix. He was caught by his own words. After a good deal of hesitation the merchant consented to the bargain and the Brāhman joyfully started home with

the cow. One day the cow strayed away and did not return to the Brāhman at dusk. The Brāhman went in search of the cow, but he could nowhere find her. At noon the Brāhman rested under the shade of a *Bat* tree (*Ficus Indica*) quite knocked up. There he found Trināth sitting on a branch of the tree. Trināth asked the Brāhman to bring from the nearest bazar one pice worth of betel-leaves, one pice worth of oil and one pice worth of *Cannabis Indica*. Trināth also asked the Brāhman to search for three pice under a certain bulrush bush, and there the Brāhman got three pice. The Brāhman had no oil can with him, and he asked Trināth how he should bring the oil. Trināth asked him to bring oil in his napkin. The Brāhman went to the nearest bazar; there he purchased betel-leaves, areca nuts and *Cannabis Indica*; but nobody would give him oil in his napkin. People took him to be a madcap. An old Teli oil-dealer wanted to make capital out of this seemingly crazy Brāhman. He agreed to give oil on his napkin. The Brāhman stretched out the napkin on the ground and the Teli brought a few drops of oil on the wrong side of his pail from his goatskin and threw them on the napkin. The Brāhman had not gone far, when the Teli found his goatskin empty. Horror-struck at this, he went after the Brāhman and cajoled him back to his shop. He now gave the Brāhman a pail full of oil and the Brāhman carried it in his napkin, as though it were a pot or a pan. This miracle converted the Teli into a staunch worshipper of Trināth. The Brāhman returned to the *Bat* tree and was asked by Trināth to dedicate to him the articles he had brought. The Brāhman then returned home and found his cow on his way. He worshipped Trināth every day, and, by his grace, grew very rich. The people of the locality learnt the secret of the Brāhman's success in life. They, too, began to worship Trināth, and by his grace grew rich likewise. The money-lenders found their business gone and they in a body appealed to the Raja of that place. The Raja prohibited the worship of Trināth under pain of a fine of one hundred and fifty rupees, imprisonment for six months, and finally death on a pointed iron stake (*suli*). The Raja's eldest son died

immediately after he had passed this grossly impious order. The Raja brought out the dead body for cremation on the bank of the Sonebhadra. There Trināth appeared before the Raja in the guise of an old Brāhmin and asked him to utter the name of Trināth seven times in the ear of his dead son. On this the prince revived as if roused from sleep. The Raja and all the people of his realm became devout worshippers of Trināth from that day. A boat was lying on the rippling Sonebhadra laden with treasure and cargo. The merchant who owned the boat witnessed the miracle of the resurrection of the Raja's son. He vowed to give five *melas* (worship) to Trināth if after a prosperous voyage he would safely return home. After a year the merchant returned home with a good deal of money and valuables. He was so very home-sick that on landing from his boat he forthwith rushed homewards, quite unmindful of the vow he had taken. When half his treasure was removed, the boat foundered as if struck by an invisible blow. The merchant bewailed the loss of his boat, but his tears brought back his vow to his mind. That very night the merchant worshipped Trināth in the manner described above. The next morning the merchant found his boat floating on the river fresh and yare with the remaining half of his treasure upon it. A deaf man and a dumb man constantly took the sacred name of Trināth and were radically cured. Now Trināth-worship became widely practised. Nearly every evening the villagers used to assemble on the spot where Trināth-worship was going on. The house-holders used to worship Trināth by turns. One day a pious Vaishnaba had gone to the place of Trināth-worship, when his *Guru* or spiritual preceptor came to his house. The *Guru* learnt from the mother of his disciple that he had gone to the place of Trināth-worship, and the *Guru* personally went to his disciple in a huff. There was a hot recrimination between the *Guru* and his disciple and the *Guru* indignantly spurned at the altar of Trināth. The Vaishnaba was sorely pained at the insolence of his *Guru*, but he could not help following him home from the place of Trināth-worship. A thunder-storm came on suddenly. The *Guru* and his disciple wandered up and down.

At length they managed to reach the house of the *Guru*. At the very threshold of the house they found the mother of the *Guru* bitterly bewailing the sudden death of his son and wife. The *Guru* was now sufficiently humbled. He worshipped Trināth then and there, with a sincerity born of deep despair. After he had finished the worship of Trināth, his son and his wife revived to his great joy. Thenceforth Trināth-worship became quite popular.

IV.—The Magadha pura of Mahabharata II, XX, 30.

By Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.C.S. (Retd.)

I HAVE read Mr. Jackson's account of the two inscriptions discovered by him in the Barabar hills¹ with great interest. It is evident that he has successfully identified the Gorathagiri.

May I suggest one point for reconsideration? It is his suggestion that the ruins at Ibrāhimpur are the remains of the Māgadha pura of Mahābhārata II, XX, 30.

On page 65 of the Journal, Mr. Jackson speaks of this town as मागधपुरम्, or 'the City of Magadha.' Is this translation correct? मागधपुरम् ought to mean 'the City of the Māgadha,' not 'the City of Māgadha'. The latter, as a compound word, would be मगधपुरम्.

This, however, is not of great importance, for the passage in the Mahābhārata does not use the expression as given by Mr. Jackson, but has मागधपुरम्,—two distinct words, not a compound. In this, the word मागध is an adjective, and can, for our present purposes, be best translated 'Māgadhian', so that *Māgadham puram* means 'the Māgadhian City'. The question is, what is the exact meaning here of 'Māgadhian?' In six places² in the MBh. it means 'of or belonging to the country of Māgadha'; in two places it is used with *pura*, one being the present passage and the other to be quoted later on; but generally, and this in some scores of instances, it means 'a man of Māgadha' or 'of or belonging to a man of Magadha'. Indian authorities on this passage take the word here in the last meaning, and maintain that 'Māgadham puram' means 'the City of the Man of Māgadha',

¹ See pages 159 ff. of Part II of this Journal.

² II, xiv, 55; xx, 29; xxii, 20; VI, lxii, 34; VIII, xxxii, 18 XI, xxv, 7

i.e., of Jarāsandha. For example, the Vācaspatya, s. v. गोरथ says in so many words that in this passage मागधं पुरम् = जरासन्ध पुरम्.

Jarāsandha's city was Girivraja (MBh. II, xiv, 73). This, as stated in the passage quoted by Mr. Jackson, was Old Rājagriha, and was surrounded by five hills. Therefore, it was not, as he rightly points out, visible from the Gōrathagiri, or from any other hill in the neighbourhood. The commentators are certainly right in saying that the Māgadha pura was Jarāsandha's city, Girivraja, as would be plain if Mr. Jackson's quotation had been carried further on. As printed on page 161, it stops at the third verse of chapter xxi. Taking the same southern text, the 16th to 18th verses run :—

एवमुक्त्वा ततः सर्वे भातरो विपुलौजसः ॥ १६ ॥

बाष्पैर्यः पाण्डवौ चैव प्रतस्थुर्मागधं पुरम् ।

हृष्टपुरुजनोपेतं चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाकुलम् ॥ १७ ॥

स्त्रीतोत्सवमनाश्च्युताः पृथक्च गिरिव्रजम् ॥ १८ ॥

16, 17. ' With these words all the mighty brethren, Vārsnēya and the two Pāndavas, set out (*pratasthuh*) for the Māgadha pura, 18, and reached (*āsēduh*) Girivraja filled with happy and well-fed citizens, crowded with men of all four castes, abounding in festivals, and impregnable. '

I do not think that in this passage *pratasthuh* and *āsēduh* can have any meanings other than those that I have assigned to them, and, therefore, the Māgadha pura is the same as Girivraja.

We are thus reduced to one of two conclusions. Either the Gōrathagiri was not one of the Barābar hills, or else the writer of the passage in the Mahābhārata, not being acquainted with the local geography, has made a mistake.

As already stated, I think that it cannot be doubted that Mr. Jackson's identification of the Gōrathagiri is correct, and we are therefore driven to the second alternative. Perhaps the writer confused Girivraja with New Rājagriha which on a clear day would, so far as I remember, have been visible from the Barābar hills, or perhaps he was merely giving a poetical Pisgah-view of the Promised Land of Girivraja, without troubling his head whether the details were possible or not.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.

I.—The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History.

By D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D., in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)*, for January and July 1915.

DR. SPOONER in his paper on "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" essays to prove that Chandragupta was a Parsi: that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians (page 413); that they came originally from Persepolis and were perhaps of Achæmenian descent (page 410). This is the main thesis of his paper. But there are some subsidiary theses of no less importance, *e.g.*, that the Buddha was also a Parsi by race and by religion (page 445), that the Nandas were Persians (page 418), and that the Mauryan Chancellor Chānakya was a Magian or a Parsi priest (pages 419-420).

I would here discuss the evidence as to the alleged Parsi origin of the Emperor Chandragupta and of the Nandas and Chānakya, the latter two being closely associated with the history of the former. The question of the ethnic origin of the Buddha, which by itself is a large subject, may be put off for the present, as it does not affect the problem of the Mauryas one way or the other.

It is now more than fifteen months that I had the privilege of discussing the question of Chandragupta's nationality with Dr. Spooner personally. Although when he disclosed to me his Persian theory I told him that the trend of the whole of historical evidence seemed to be against him, I kept my mind open to conversion if convincing proof were forthcoming; and I watched the progress of his theory with sympathy. I suggested

to Dr. Spooner that it would be worth his while to search, if possible, for an Avestic explanation of the word *Maurya*; and later on I pointed out the philological equation *Maurva* (Zend) = *Maurya* to which Dr. Spooner refers at pages 407, 409.

Since the publication of his paper Dr. Spooner has kindly asked me to state my conclusion as to his theory. A careful examination of the data set forth was necessary and some time had to be allowed to get over the effect of the eloquence and rhetoric of the learned writer. It would have given me much satisfaction, if I could agree with Dr. Spooner in his conclusions. But a critical analysis of the data put forward by my friend compels me to say that his theory on the basis of the present evidence has to be rejected.

There are many points treated in the paper which do not stand the chance of obtaining a considerate hearing at the hands of specialists. (e.g., the discussion about the Atharva-Veda being Persian in origin; the attempt at a new explanation of the grammatical note of Patanjali 'Mauryair hiranyārthibhir arehāh prakalpitaḥ'; the discourse about the Vedic *Prāchyas* and the *Charanavyūha*); but they may be overlooked as not affecting the main theory. Let us take the arguments which closely bear on the Mauryas. There is, for instance, the argument—more than once emphasized—that Chandragupta "washed his royal hair according to the Persian calendar". A ceremonial of sacramental nature, absolutely alien, will, no doubt, suggest more than a mere borrowing. But on reference to the original authority I find nothing whatsoever about "the Persian calendar". The original passage is in Strabo, XV, 69, and runs as follows:—

"The following particulars also are stated by the historians.

The Indians worship Zeus Ombrios (Indra), the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country. When the King washes his hair they celebrate a great festival, and send him great presents, each person seeking to out-rival his neighbour in displaying his wealth" (M'Crindle).

There is nothing here about Chandragupta particularly, nor is the statement attributed to Megasthenes, nor is there the slightest mention of the Persian or any other calendar. The ceremony refers to the well-known Vedic ritual of the royal *abhishechanīyam* and to the customary presents brought on the occasion by the subjects.

M'Crindle in translating the passages gives in a foot-note (*Ancient India*, page 75) a passage from Herodotus (IX, 110) which says that Xerxes on his birthday prepared a feast when "only the king washes his head with soap and makes presents to the Persians." It is to be noticed that the Persian King 'made presents' to his tribe while the Hindu King 'received presents' from his subjects; moreover, the Persian King alone was allowed soap and he washed his head on his birthday. No such predilections are to be had about the Indian King in the passage of Strabo. To mix Herodotus with Strabo is a mistake; one account relates to Persia and the other to India; to pick up a piece from the former and to mix it up with a portion of the latter would be to give a piece of history that would not be faithful to fact. Then to attribute that history to Megasthenes is worse than unscientific. And on the basis of that history*, [to generalize about Chandragupta that "he organizes his court along purely Persian lines and pays regard to Persian ceremonial down to the washing of his royal hair" (p. 417) and that "Megasthenes will bear us testimony that the Indian court was almost wholly Persian in his day" (p. 71) is rather reckless.

I pass over such assertions as "His very masons are imported Persians for whom the monarch has such marked regard that he ordains a special set of penalties for all who injure them." No serious attempt at proving them has been made. The discussion on "numismatic evidences" is likewise fruitless. "It is conceded, that the punch-marked coins are the oldest coinage in India. The Mauryas must have used them, as they cannot have been without coinage." Upon this hypothesis

* Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 1908, page 122, approved and followed by Dr. Spooner.

another is built and three pages further we are asked to accept that the variety bearing the representations "peacocks (*mayura*) standing on Mount Maru" are 'Mauryan coins', "the more particularly since we know them to be contemporary with the dynasty": a matter which needs proving, as without it we would be merely begging the question.

For the statement that "Persepolis was the ancestral home" of Chandragupta two arguments have been advanced. One is philological and the other is, "the statements of the Greek historians and the otherwise extraordinary fact that Chandragupta's palaces seem copies of the Persepolitan" (p. 409). No such statement is found in the Greek historians. I have searched in vain in every possible place for the statement describing Chandragupta's palaces "as copies of the Persepolitan"*. The only passage bearing on the subject (Aelianos, XIII, 18) says: "In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour, nor Ekbatana with all its magnificence can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides" (M'Crindle). There is no mention of Persepolis, and no mention of any copy whatsoever. If Aelian's authority is Megasthenes (as it has been believed, M'Crindle, page 142; V. Smith, 119-20), the passage is a positive authority to hold that the theory of Persian inspiration for Chandragupta's palaces cannot be entertained. Aelian, certainly, and Megasthenes, probably, would have ridiculed a Persian had the latter suggested that they seemed to be copies of the Persepolitan or any other Persian palaces.

The philological argument is based on the equation *Mōurva* = *Maurya*. Philologically there is no flaw in the equation. But there is not the slightest evidence that in the 4th century B. C. Persepolis was called Mourva. Darius, in his inscription, calls it Persis, and so do the writers of the time of Alexander. It is

* Dr. Spooner does not give any reference.

wholly contrary to historical evidence to call Persepolis 'Mourva', and absolutely arbitrary to connect the Mauryas with Persepolis. *Mōurva* of the Vendidad is identified with Merv and is taken by Meyer, the foremost authority of our day on Persian history, as a place-name and not an ethnic appellation. It seems that serious chronological objection arises to deriving *Maurya* from *Mōurva* in that the latter form had gone out of use long before the time of Chandragupta. Darius in his Behistun inscription gives the form *Margu*. But no room for any speculation is left if we take into account the oldest vernacular form of 'Maurya' known to Indian literature. The Hathigumpha inscription of Orissa which is contemporary with the last days of the Mauryas has *Rāja-Muriya**; and *Muriya* is the form found in the Jain chronological gāthā. This form can only be connected with *Murā* which, the Sanskrit authorities say, was the name of Chandragupta's mother; the form could not be derived from *Mōurva*. *Muriya* dislodges *Mōurva* altogether.

The connection of Chandragupta with the *Nandas* is well established (a point which Dr. Spooner recognises, page 417). You cannot call Chandragupta a Parsi and leave his reputed father (Nanda) a Hindu. The difficulty is solved by Dr. Spooner by declaring the *Nandas* also to have been Parsis. Nothing like proof, however, has been given to support the thesis. We have only this: "The latter (the later *Nandas*) were hated cordially, and is it not recorded that they exterminated all the Kshatriyas? If they are Persian invaders, this is sensible enough." As the *Nandas* were rich, it is asserted that they came as merchant princes first, 'and won their empire as the English did.' Suppositions piled upon suppositions prove no case. On the other hand, there is positive and contemporary evidence that the Nanda who was ruling when Alexander came was the son of a barber (Curtius, ix, 2, Diodorus, xciii). The *Purānas* in effect say the same. There is no opportunity for

* Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the inscription has not been accepted. Dr. Spooner is literally right when he says there is no *Moriya* in that epigraph, for it has *Muriya*.

the Parsi Merchant-Prince of Dr. Spooner to claim and ascend the imperial throne upon which sat the Hindu barber.

In dealing with Chānakya Dr. Spooner (page 419) casually suggests that the Jyotish Vedāṅga is attributable to the Persian influence. But the Jyotish is astronomically dated in the twelfth century B.C., which is long before the birth of Persepolis and the Persian empire.

Internal evidence in the Artha Shāstra perfectly disposes of any theory alleging a non-Brāhman origin of the Mauryan chancellor. Chānakya enumerates the triple Vedas beginning with the Sāman. Now it is a practice well-known to Vedic literature that a Brāhman mentions his own Veda first. Chānakya was thus a Sāma-vedin, and not an "Atharvan" as Dr. Spooner calls him (page 420). In fact Chānakya does not count the Atharva-Veda in his Trayi or the Vedic triple (Artha Shāstra, page 7).

Dr. Spooner argues that medicine was associated with the Magians and as Chānakya practised medicine which (he says) the Brāhman hated, Chānakya as a Brāhman is "found 'in suspicious circumstances' 'when the curtain lifts'". It is undoubtedly evident from his book that the great chancellor knew medicine which he must have studied at Taxila, his home and the famous place for that science in ancient days. But there is not a shred of evidence that he practised medicine. Such being the case it is not necessary to examine the general proposition whether Orthodox Brāhmans in the fourth century B.C. did or did not practice medicine.

Chānakya's salutation to Sukra and Brihaspati in the beginning of his book is taken by Dr. Spooner to be 'encouraging' (I think, to his theory), as 'there is a distinctly astrological flavour about' it. Whether a distinct astrological flavour would help much the theory is a question which might be shelved, for the premise itself is wrong. *Brihaspati* and *Sukra* of Chānakya were not stars but human beings. They were the greatest authorities on Hindu politics; they have been mentioned in the Grihya Sutras and the Dharmasutras; and they have been copiously

quoted by Chānakya himself in the very book on the first page of which homage is done to them. Then it is more than doubtful that the invocation, as it appears, is ancient. We have only one manuscript of the Artha Shāstra up to this time.

Great emphasis has been laid on *Lokāyātā* appearing in the course prescribed for the education of princes in the Artha Shāstra because Lokayata, Dr. Spooner points out, is said to mean atheism (page 419). "If this be right Chānakya's orthodoxy is impugned at once." But 'impugned orthodoxy' does not turn a Brāhman into a Parsi priest. *Lokayata*, however, did not mean atheism in ancient times. The matter has been discussed as early as 1899 by Professor Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, 166-172) who says: "The best working hypothesis to explain the above facts seems to be that about 500 B.C. the word Lokayata was used in a complimentary way as the name of a branch of Brāhman learning".

There are two more points urged as evidence of the Magian identity of Chānakya. The opening lines of chapter XII of the Artha Shāstra are quoted. According to them orphans to be maintained by the State were to be taught astrology, palmistry, reading of augury, etc. Dr. Spooner thinks that no Hindu would have instituted such a curriculum; 'but it would be', he says, 'reasonable enough for a Magian minister of state'. If the heading of the chapter had been noticed, confusion would have been avoided. Chānakya treats astrology with contempt, not with Magian respect. He says that men for the secret service of police should be recruited from the ranks of orphans. They should be made astrologer-spies. The whole chapter is on the Institution of the Secret Service and such is the title of the chapter.

Dr. Spooner thinks that as Chānakya prescribes that the Royal Purohita must be a Brāhman versed in the Atharvan and that he must be followed by king, Chānakya was a Parsi priest. But there is nothing Parsi in this. Orthodox authority even anterior to Chānakya is unanimous that the

Purohita must be a follower of the Atharva-veda. Chānakya did not introduce this as a new rule.*

Dr. Spooner institutes comparison between the 'Yoga' mentioned in the Artha Shāstra and the 'Magian mummeries'! But unfortunately Chānakya never defines his Yoga, and as Yoga had different meanings in different ages, it is useless to institute comparison between the unknown and the known.

The result of the 'architectural evidence' is no more satisfactory. Being on the spot I have had the opportunity to follow the progress of the Kumhrar excavations. I do not think that the learned archæologist has succeeded in proving that the site excavated represents Chandragupta's palaces. On a closer search the Persepolitan picture disappears from Kumhrar. This, I propose to show in another paper.

After a careful examination of the whole evidence and arguments contained in the lengthy paper of Dr. Spooner, I have no hesitation in saying that up to this time "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" appears to be a mere castle-in-the-air.

K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (Oxon.), BAR-AT-LAW.

* I think in fairness to Dr. Spooner it must be mentioned that since the publication of his paper he has told me that he means to abandon the part of his theory relating to Chānakya.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on the 24th January, 1916, at Government House, Bankipore.

His Honour Sir EDWARD GAIT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President, *in the Chair.*

1. The Vice-President of the Council, the Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, I.C.S., read the report of the Council, which was accepted.

2. His Honour the President then delivered his address.*

3. The following articles of antiquarian interest collected by the Society were exhibited :—

- (1) Twelve specimens of ancient copper axe-heads, discovered in Chotā Nāgpur.
- (2) Eighty Palæolithic and Neolithic stone axe-heads, hammers, chisels, stools, polishers, etc., collected in Chōtā Nāgpur.
- (3) A number of ancient copper ornaments, dug out from Asura graves in the Rānchi district.
- (4) An old set of three copper plates with a seal of Yayāti Gupta (11th century), found in the Sonpur State in Crissā.
- (5) One gold coin of Huvishka, of the Imperial Kushan dynasty, found in the Rānchi district.
- (6) One gold coin of Anantha Varma Chola Gupta (11th century), found in the Sambalpur district.

- (7) Twenty-four silver coins and seventy eight copper coins of the Hindu and Muhammadan periods, found in the Patnā and Gayā districts.
- (8) A number of ancient stone beads, found in Chōtā Nāgpur and in the Santal Parganas.
- (9) One ancient Cinerary urn, found in the Rānchi district.
- (10) Fragments of ancient pottery, found in the Rānchi district.
- (11) Ancient brick, found in the Rānchi district.
- (12) Ancient stone sculpture of a deity carrying a bow, found in the Rānchi district.
- (13) Carved parts of an ancient temple, found in the Rānchi district.
- (14) One ancient Siva-lingam, found in the Rānchi district.

4. His Honour the President then moved the formal adoption by the Society of the Rules framed by the Council. In doing so His Honour said: "It was decided at the inaugural meeting that the Council should draw up a set of regulations. Nothing was said about submitting them to the General Meeting for confirmation, but it would, I think, be well if this meeting were to confirm the rules already framed, subject to the following changes which were agreed upon at the last Council meeting, viz.:—

- (1) that Rules 5, 6 and 7 be amended so as to confer on the Council the power of electing members, and
- (2) that ordinary meetings be held twice a year, one at the beginning and one towards the end of the cold season, instead of once a quarter as laid down in Rule 33."

The motion was duly seconded and unanimously adopted.

5. The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravanaeswar Prasad Singh, K.C.I.E., of Gidhour, proposed that His Honour Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., be elected Patron of the Society in place of the Hon'ble Sir Charles Bayley, G.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.S.O., who has left the country, and that the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, K.T., be elected Vice-Patron.

Nawab Saiyid Nasir-ud-din Ahmad of Bihar seconded the proposal, which was unanimously carried.

6. Rai Bahadur Jwala Prasad proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair. Mr. S. Sinha seconded the proposal, which was carried with acclamation.

II.—Annual Report of Council for 1915.

At a meeting held at Government House, Bankipore, on the 20th January 1915, which was attended by a large number of leading gentry of the province and presided over by the then Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon'ble Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, it was decided to establish a Society to be called, "The Bihar and Orissa Research Society." The object of the Society was to promote research in this province on lines somewhat similar to other societies already established in India and in other countries. It was decided that the activities of the Society should be limited for the present to four subjects, namely, (1) History, (2) Archæology and Numismatics, (3) Anthropology, and (4) Philology.

At this inaugural meeting, a Council of the Society was constituted, and one patron, five vice-patrons, and office-bearers of the Society were elected. The Council were at the same time requested to appoint a special Sub-Committee to draw up a set of regulations for the Society, and to form four section Sub-Committees for the four subjects specified above. These Sub-Committees were duly constituted, and draft regulations were considered by the special Sub-Committee at its meeting of the 14th March 1915, and passed at a meeting of the Council on the 6th April. At the same meeting of the Council it was decided—

- (1) to move the Local Government to construct for the purpose of a Provincial Museum and Library at Bankipore a suitable building, of which two rooms might, for the present, be occupied by the Society;
- (2) to ask Government to subscribe for 100 copies of the Society's journal at a cost of Rs. 2,000 a year;
- (3) to ask Government to make a contribution of Rs. 3,000 per annum in aid of ethnographic research, on the analogy of a similar grant made by the Bengal Government to the

Asiatic Society of Bengal; (4) and to invite patrons and gentlemen interested in the success of the Society to assist with gifts of books for the library or donations for the purchase of books, or for housing and equipment. The Local Government in their letter No. 1102-E, dated the 11th June 1915, informed the Society that the application for the purchase of copies of the journal had been granted, and in their letter No. 1318-E., dated the 7th July 1915, accorded their sanction to an annual grant of Rs. 3,000 in aid of Ethnographic Research, while in their letter No. 1531-E., dated the 16th August 1915, they informed the Society that a Committee had been appointed to work out a scheme for the establishment of a Provincial Museum and Public Library. We are deeply grateful to the Local Government for the generous encouragement accorded to the Society.

Copies of the Rules of the Society and of the proceedings of the inaugural meeting were circulated in all the districts of the Province, and thanks to the active interest taken in the Society by the Divisional Commissioners and District Officers, applications for membership began to come in from all parts of the Province. At a meeting of the Council held on the 18th August 1915, as many as 152 applications for membership were considered and approved, and at subsequent meetings held on the 27th September and the 30th November the Council approved of 33 and 15 new members, respectively. These, together with the members who took part or were elected to office in the inaugural meeting, make up a total of 237, exclusive of 1 Patron and 5 Vice-Patrons. Of these, 11 are non-resident members, of whom 7 reside in the province of Bengal, 2 in the United Provinces, 1 in Madras, and 1 in Cochin.

It is to be regretted that we have not yet received more than one application for life-membership. It is still more to be regretted that we have up to date received one donation, *viz.*, of Rs. 100, for the purchase of books, given by the proprietor of the Aul Estate in Orissa, to whom the thanks of the Council have been conveyed. The Council desire also to record their appreciation of Mr. S. Sinha's generous offer of his collection of

books to the Society. We trust that before long many other noblemen and gentlemen of the province will come forward with donations towards the objects of the Society. A prospectus of the Society together with an appeal for donations for the purchase of books or for housing and equipment, and gifts of books or MSS., has been printed, and copies circulated in the several districts of the province.

The report of the Committee appointed by Government regarding the scheme for a Museum and Public Library will be shortly considered by Government.

During this the first year of our existence we have necessarily had to occupy ourselves more with the work of organization and the settling of preliminaries than with actual research. Still we have made a promising start, and have already issued two numbers of our Journal.

To form the nucleus of a Museum, we have already secured a number of implements, ornaments, and other articles of the Stone Age and Copper Age in this province, besides few ancient coins and other objects of antiquarian interest. It will not, however, be possible to form collections on a systematised plan until the necessary accommodation and arrangement for supervision have been provided.

Thanks to the prompt assistance given by the Local Government, the Society has been in a position to meet all expenses incurred during the year, but larger sums will be required for its objects.

An abstract statement of accounts is appended to this report. The proceedings of the inaugural meeting of the Society as well as the proceedings of the meetings of the Council hitherto held have been published in the Society's Journal.

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1915.

Income.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Government grant for Ethnographic Research ...	3,000	0	0
Government grant for Journal ...	1,000	0	0
Subscription from members up to 31st December 1915.	477	8	0
Donation for Library ...	100	0	0
Total ...	4,577	8	0

Expenditure.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment ...	88	0	0
One Typewriting machine ...	350	0	0
Cost of paper, blocks and printing, etc. ...	545	13	0
Railway freight for Journal ...	18	12	0
Furniture ...	37	12	0
Stationery ...	33	12	0
Allowance of Anthropological Secretary ...	2,500	0	0
Stamps ...	341	3	0
Museum ...	5	11	0
Total ...	3,614	9	0
Balance ...	962	15	0

III.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council held on Tuesday, the 30th November, 1915, at the Commissioner's House at Bankipore.

PRESENT :

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S., Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
2. S. A. Raja, Esq.
3. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.
4. Prof. J. N. Sarkar, M.A.
5. „ J. N. Samaddar, B.A.
6. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
2. Pending applications for membership were considered, and 15 ordinary members were duly elected. Their names are noted below :—

1. Babu Indra Bilash Mukerjee, Sambalpur.
2. A. J. Ollenbach, Esq., Khondmals.
3. Lieut.-Col. R. H. Maddox, M.B., I.M.S., Ranchi.
4. Lieut. F. S. McNamara, Ranchi.
5. Babu Manmath Nath Mukerji, B.A., B.E. Ranchi.
6. Babu Nabendu Bhushan Mukerji, B.L., Khunti, district Ranchi.
7. Babu Nagendra Nath Basu, 20, Biswakosa Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta.
8. Mr. C. J. B. Wight Boycott, Daltonganj.
9. „ W. O. MacGregor, Hazaribagh.
10. „ A. M. Walter „
11. „ E. A. Oakley „

12. Mr. L. K. Ananthakrishana Iyer, B.A., L.T., Trichur, Cochin.
13. Babu Thakur Brijnandan, Bankipore.
14. Khan Sahib Abdul Muqtadir, Imperial Library, Calcutta.
15. Rev. O. J. Millman, B.A., B.D., Udayagiri, P. O. Ghumsar, Madras.

3. Resolved that the appointment of a peon be sanctioned for the General Secretary's office on a salary of Rs. 8 a month.

4. Read a letter, dated the 10th November 1915, from the Manager of the Aul Estate, intimating that Babu Braja Sunder Deb, Proprietor of the Aul Estate in the Cuttack District, has been pleased to make a donation of Rs. 100 to the Society for the purchase of books for the library.

Resolved that the Secretary be asked to convey the thanks of the Council to him.

IV.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Commissioner's House, Bankipore, on the 4th January 1916.

PRESENT

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I. C. S., Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
2. V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.
3. D. B. Spooner, Esq., B.A., PH.D.
4. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.
5. Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

1. Read and confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council held on the 30th November, 1915.

2. Read and passed the proposed list of agenda for the ordinary meeting of the Society to be held on the 24th January 1916. In this connection the Council are of opinion that rules 5, 6 and 7 of the rules of the Society may suitably be amended so as to confer on the Council the power of election of members, in view of the delay involved by the procedure prescribed in the existing rules.

3. Read the annexed list of 7 candidates for membership of the Society. Resolved that the names be approved :—

NAMES :

1. Lady Holmwood.
2. R. D. Banerji, Esq., M.A.
3. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Esq., M.A.
4. G. E. Fawcett, Esq., M.A.
5. Babu Haranandan Panday, B.A.
6. Babu Krishna Govinda Tewari
7. Babu Bidya Binod Singh.

4. Considered the rough draft of the annual report of the Council for the year 1913 prepared by the General Secretary. After discussion of the draft, it was resolved that it should be passed as amended by the Council.

5. Considered a suggestion that invitations for the annual meeting of the Society should also be issued to selected non-members. The Council are of opinion that the General Secretary, when issuing invitation to the members of the Society for the annual meeting to be held on the 24th January 1916, should request each member to state whether he will be able to attend, and also to state whether he would like to bring with him any one or two non-members as visitors, and if so, to give the names and addresses of the latter, so that cards of invitation may issue to them so far as space permits.

6. The Council desire to suggest that that part of Rule 33 which provides that ordinary meetings of the Society shall be held once a quarter might suitably be modified so as to prescribe that at least two ordinary meetings of the Society shall be held each year, one in the beginning, and one towards the end, of the cold season, so that papers passed by the Sub-Committees may be read and discussed. The Council make this suggestion in view of the fact that under present provincial conditions it will probably be found impracticable to hold a meeting of the Society every quarter, and also because they feel that many papers might be offered which would be suitable for reading and discussion, though not ripe for publication in the Journal.

V.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council held at Government House, Banki- pore, on the 24th January, 1916.

PRESENT :

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S., Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.
3. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.
4. S. Sinha, Esq., Bar-at-Law.
5. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.
6. P. Kennedy, Esq., M.A., B.L.
7. Principal V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.
8. D. B. Spooner, Esq., B.A., PH.D.
9. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.
10. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
 2. Pending applications for membership were considered, and
 19 ordinary members were duly elected. Their names are noted
 below :—

1. Babu Baidya Binod Singh Deo, Zamindar of Icha, district Singbhum.
2. R. D. Banerjee, Esq., M.A., Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
3. T. A. Gopinath Rao, Esq., M.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State, Trivandrum (Madras).
4. G. E. Fawcus, Esq., M.A., Inspector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Division, Ranchi.

5. Babu Krishna Gobinda Tewari, Pleader, Khunti, district Ranchi.
6. Lady Holmwood, 17, Harington Mansions, Calcutta.
7. Babu Harnandan Pande, B.A., Excavation Assistant to the Director-General of Archæology of India, Simla.
8. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Political Agent, Sambalpur.
9. The Right Revd. F. Westcott, Bishop of Chota Nagpur, Ranchi.
10. Maulvi S. M. Fazl-i-Haqq, B.A., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Chaibassa.
11. Rai Bahadur Janki Prasad Tewari, Retired Superintendent of Police, Ranchi.
12. Babu Jagat Pal Sahay, Pleader, Ranchi.
13. Babu Nirmal Chandra Ghose, M.A., B.L., Pleader, Bankipore.
14. Khan Bahadur Saiyid Sarfaraz Husain Khan, Honorary Magistrate, Patna.
15. Rai Bahadur Lal Rajendra Sing Bariha of Barasambar, district Sambalpur (C. P.)
16. Babu Haran Chandra Chakladar, M.A., Professor, B. N. College, Bankipore.
17. T. S. Macpherson, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Arrah.
18. H. N. L. Nandkeolyar, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
19. Rev. Angarika H. Dharmapala, 4-A, College Square, Calcutta.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. II.]

[PART II.]

I.—Temple Types in Tirhut. *

By D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.

IN his great "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" Fergusson classifies all Hindu temple-forms under one or other of three styles, which he designates Dravidian, Chalukyan and Indo-Aryan or Northern. The great Lingarāj temple at Bhuvaneshwar (Plate A) and the more famous Black Pagoda at Konārak are his principal examples of the third or Indo-Aryan style, and Fergusson asserts that he has devoted more time to a consideration of the origin and development of this architectural form than to any other problem in connexion with his work, but nevertheless without reaching any satisfactory solution. Speaking of the temple type in Orissan architecture, which according to him is the norm for Northern India, Fergusson gives one to understand that its essential characteristics are a square cella for the image, indicated externally by a tall tower, which tower is always curvilinear, never shows any trace of storeys, and is surmounted by that massive circular coping stone which is known as the *āmālaka*, on which finally rests the finial

* Lecture delivered before the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at Patna in February 1916.

or *kalasa*. To the *sikhara* or tower so constructed there may be and usually is added a porch or *jagamohan*, with sometimes other similar adjuncts. But temples of this style are essentially tripartite as described, and their main characteristic is their curvilinear outline. This appears to be the form already stereotyped in the oldest known examples in North India, and Fergusson, beyond suggesting that their peculiarities were a structural necessity, leaves the problem of origin unsolved. If this is true of the oldest specimens of this type, it is, if possible, still more so of what Fergusson looks upon as the latest, most modern development of this general class, which he illustrates with a modern "Bengal temple", as he calls it, in Benares (Plate B). "This Bengal example," he tells us, (Vol. II, page 90), "recalls nothing known in civil or domestic architecture. Neither the pyramid nor the tumulus affords any suggestion as to the origin of the form, nor does the tower, either square or circular; nor does any form of civil or domestic architecture. It does not seem to be derived from any of these and, whether we consider it as beautiful or otherwise, it seems certainly to have been invented principally at least for æsthetic purposes, and to have retained that impress from the earliest till the present day". Elsewhere (Vol. I, page 326), he suggests that some day the discovery of some earlier example than any now known may render the evolution clearer, but beyond his suggestion of constructional necessity he was not himself able to go. It is the purpose of the present paper to propound a solution of the problem so simple that Fergusson completely overlooked it, despite his obvious knowledge of the facts.

First of all I wish to question Fergusson's conclusion that his so-called Bengal temple in Benares is a lineal descendant of the Orissan type. This paper does not deal with these Orissan forms, and I will therefore not discuss here the special problems attaching to the history of their development; but I am persuaded that the Benares type which Fergusson illustrates is not to be derived from any such beginnings, and I suspect that it was primarily because of this initial misconception that Fergusson,

with all his unparalleled knowledge of the subject, failed to trace the origin and growth he sought.

But however diverse in history this form of northern, or as I will henceforth call it, Tirhut type of temple may be, it too is essentially tripartite, and consists as a rule of cella, tower and porch, which latter element is obviously a later adjunct to the structure. In the simplest form in which this sort of temple could appear, in point of theory, we should have a small square room, to contain the sacred image, with a more or less ordinary roof, sloped to keep the rain off, and in course of time, a narrow portico in front to keep the fierceness of the sun from entering the shrine. Such a structure as this would be about the simplest form of house we could imagine, granting these three elements as essential, and we will take this as our theoretical starting point, although it is evident that there is nothing curvilinear about it, and that such a primitive type of structure is remote indeed from, say, the Black Pagoda at Konārak. Nor will the development which I mean to trace bring us at any point nearer to this building in essentials.

Now in studying architectural developments, it is usually assumed, I believe, that if we could arrange all our temples in order of their dates, their development would stand out, except for the fact that the earliest, most primitive types are supposed to have died out and to be thus no longer adducible. There is, of course, some truth in this assertion. If we had an unbroken series from the beginning, and knew their dates, the tracing of the development would doubtless be easy enough. In Tirhut, however, such a proceeding is certainly not possible, because, in the first place, there are extremely few temples of any real antiquity, (certainly none at all of the remote past), and the dates of those which do exist are not readily determinable in most cases. If then we are to trace this development in the buildings of this region to-day, it will be due in the main to the falsity of the assumption that the primitive types have ceased. We must bear in mind, however, that the assumption is not altogether false. Close approxima-

tions exist to these earliest forms, as we shall see, but they are all modern structures, in themselves, and render the enquiry less easy than it might have been. But if the modernity of our documents be remembered, and due allowance made for this circumstance, the difficulties will be in no sense insuperable. We must not, however, expect our modern structures to illustrate in each and every particular the precise stage of the development which the logic of the temples as a whole will put before us, at each given point.

It is for considerations such as these that it is not now possible to illustrate among the temples extant in Tirhut to-day any of exactly the most primitive type I have taken theoretically as our starting point in this enquiry. But we see what is essentially the same in certain rude little shrines at Sônpur (Plate I). Here, as in the structure which we have hypotheated, we see a simple square chamber, constituting the cella, with a simple, ordinary roof, rising to a point, and with a narrow porch in front. These are the constituents of our simplest form of temple, and in the present example we find them in as simple forms as now are traceable among the existing and recorded monuments. It will be admitted that in primitiveness they are almost all that could be wished. They show, however, one feature which is regrettable namely the false arches applied decoratively to the sides of the cella wall. These are, of course, extremely modern elements, their ornamental cusps betraying Muhammadan influence, and they render the monument less suitable for our present purposes than could be wished. However, if we eliminate this feature, and consider for the moment that these arches are not there (they are of course wholly non-essential), we shall have the primitive type we postulate, with perfectly plain, undecorated walls, and an equally undecorated pointed roof, square in plan, as is the cella proper.

It was this very circumstance of the plainness of these surfaces which, so far as I can judge, gave rise in course of time to the entire development which we seek to trace. Nowhere are the beauties of the play of light and shade more appreciated than

in India, whether because of the brightness of the sun or because of the innate æstheticism of the Hindu heart I cannot say. At all events, the Hindu has never been unmindful of this feature, and an æsthetic utilization of shadow is a conspicuous part of the beauty of most, if not all, Indian monuments. The monotonous expanse of this plain wall, calculated in Indian conditions to become a mere intolerable glare, was not long endurable, we may be sure. The builder sought to diversify this surface accordingly, with a view, so I conceive, of introducing shadow, and to this end conceived the simple, but epoch-making expedient of advancing the central portion of his wall a little way (Plate 2). By building out a central projection of this kind, he at once broke his plain surface by distributing it in two planes, and thereby gained the desiderated shadow. But let us now observe that even in this most modern of examples, a striking characteristic of the building is its prevailing lack of eaves. There is, to be sure, a slight projection around the top of the wall, intermediate between it and the actual roof, but it is in no sense conspicuous, and, in the most primitive examples, may not have existed at all. I rather infer that it did not exist, originally; because in the case of the Shiva temple at Padram, in Sāran District, where we see the first instance of the projection on the cella wall of which I speak, we find that the contour of this projection has been followed up into the region of the roof as well, and that its outer edge here also conforms, very naturally, to the configuration of this roof, running parallel to the edge again. This result would have been not only facilitated by the absence of eaves, it would have been rendered almost a constructional necessity, for, with the side wall distributed in two planes, as it is here, the roof, if rising from the inner one of these planes, only, would have left the top portion of the second one bare, unfinished and objectionable. But so slight a rim as surrounds the top of the wall in this temple at Padram would not have prevented the carrying of the outline into the region of the roof, even if we assume that it or its counterpart did actually exist in prehistoric instances.

Once carried upwards in this way, however, the projection on the cella wall automatically, or with the minimum of deliberate invention, supplies us with what is one of the most striking peculiarities of Hindu architectural ornament, namely, the decorative miniature. Fergusson at one place remarks (Volume II, page 99), that "almost all the ornaments on the facades of Buddhist temples are repetitions of themselves; but the Hindus do not seem to have adopted this system so early, and the extent to which it is carried is generally a fair test of the age of Hindu temples". How such a form could have developed naturally in a temple of purely Orissan type I cannot myself perceive; but in the case of this temple at Padram it is clear that there is more than constructional propriety in it, it is almost a structural necessity. Were it not a fact that the Orissan temples are centuries older than any of the structures now extant in Tirhut, one would be tempted to suspect that the miniature as such originated with the Tirhut type, and, having become established in Indian architecture as a decorative device, was subsequently applied with less architectural propriety elsewhere. It is perhaps not impossible that this is really the case, despite the absence of quotable instances today of this Tirhut form in really ancient examples. But whatever the history of the miniature in the Orissan type, it will be, I think, obvious as we proceed that in the Tirhut type it developed in this simple, unimaginative way.

And why? Because, having at last conceived this principle of achieving light and shade by the advancement of one portion of his wall, with this resultant single miniature as decoration for the *sikhara* the architect very naturally next proceeded to repeat the process, when, by advancing yet a further portion of the wall symmetrically with the first and thereby distributing the surface in three planes instead of two, he attained not only added play of shade, but also a second miniature, as in the Har-Mandir at Ghatârû in Muzaffarpur (Plate No. 3).

That this is a great step forward all observers will admit, for this Har-Mandir is as chaste and beautiful as it is simple in its every part. Nor is it surprising that the success of this venture

should have encouraged the builder to continue in the former course, and advance yet a third portion in the same way, with the result observable in the Mahādeva temple in Mahallā Garhi Tir in Chapra (Plate No. 4). It speaks equally for his good taste that he recognized this as the proper limit of this style, for no temple recorded in Tirhut shows any attempt to advance further along these lines. The Chapra example is the culmination of this style, and will appeal to Europeans as to Indians in its every line. It is indeed remarkable how closely it approximates in feeling to many spires on Christian churches in the Western world, although it is, I take it, perfectly obvious from what we have already seen that both in origin and development the whole is absolutely local and

This fourth type, wherein the cella wall is broken by three indigenous.

projections and the tower decorated with three miniatures, forms, as I have just remarked, the culmination of the development in this direction. But if we now turn back to Type 2, the Shiva temple at Padram, where there is only one such projection, we observe that in distributing the surface of the wall in two planes, this projection also divides it into three vertical panels, one formed by the projection itself, the other two by the parts of the wall at either side remaining unadvanced. At some stage of the architectural history this threefold division appears to have come prominently into notice, and the architect conceived the idea of balancing this triplicity rhythmically by a corresponding threefold division of his tower in horizontal storeys (Plate 5). The result is seen in the Shiva temple at Bagahā in Champāraun District. Here we have a three-storeyed tower corresponding rhythmically to the three panels on the cella wall, each of the three storeys being formed of rows of miniature *sikhāras*, individually evolved, so I conceive it, in the simple way that we have seen, but become stereotyped as an accepted architectural ornament before the creation of Type 5 was possible.*

* A form transitional between Types 4 and 5 is afforded us by temples of Type 2 where minor miniatures are placed at the four corners rising to half the height of the main or central miniature. This results in a threefold horizontal division of the tower, also, and is presumably the origin of the rhythm between these horizontal storeys and the vertical panelling.

At first sight one may be inclined to doubt whether there is really any connexion between these three storeys here in the tower and the three unobtrusive panels in the wall, but so far as my present survey of the Tirhut temples enables me to judge (and I have photographs of almost every building of any interest at all), this rythm between the vertical panelling and the horizontal banding is a constant one. A few insignificant exceptions do exist, but these are apparently spurious modern forms, built by humble modern masons ignorant of the true principles of their art. They form no integral part of the development and as mere architectural mistakes may be left out of consideration in this paper. Besides, these subtypes are the great exception. In the vast majority of cases the relationship between the divisions of the cella wall and those of the *sikhara* or tower is faithfully maintained. This results in the interesting fact that the number of such horizontal storeys is regularly an uneven one. The projections on the cella wall naturally divide it into either three or five or seven vertical panels, according to the number of these projections; they cannot divide it into four or six or eight. In consequence we find that the horizontal storeys similarly advance in odd numbers, the next step in the development being illustrated by the Kamaleśwarnāth temple at Triveni in Champāran District (Plate 6). Here we see that the side of the cella wall has been broken into five vertical panels by means of the two projections; but instead of decorating the tower vertically by two resultant miniatures, as we saw in the case of the Har-Mandir at Ghataru where the cella was similarly constructed, we here find that the *sikhara* has been banded horizontally by five rows of miniatures. The temple is a very modern one, of course, and the æsthetic variation in the size of these miniatures makes the counting of the storeys in the photograph less easy than we could desire, perhaps, although there actually are five storeys in reality; but in the case of the next example (Plate 7), the Mahadeva āsthān at Saurath in Darbhanga, and in the other examples we shall see, the counting is obvious enough. Here the projections on the cella wall are three, which divide the

surface into seven well-defined vertical panels. These seven panels are counterbalanced by the seven storeys of the tower, these seven storeys being brought about by five actual rows of miniatures making up five storeys, with one miniature on each face of the square tower to compose the sixth, and the actual summit of the tower itself constituting the last or seventh storey. For the rhythm which I postulate it is obviously unessential that there should be precisely as many rows of miniatures as there are vertical panels. What is essential is that the tower should show as many horizontal bands as there are vertical panels. But once constituted, these horizontal bands may be decorated or otherwise treated in a variety of ways, according to the æsthetic feeling of the architect. Thus we find that in the case of the Rām-ji Mandir at Semariā in Sāran (Plate 8), the side of the cella wall is divided into nine vertical panels, and that the tower above the eaves is divided correspondingly into nine horizontal bands, some of these bands being horizontal rows of miniatures, and some being treated otherwise. The builder fortunately recognized that a mere multiplication of rows of miniature *sikhharas* would result in intolerable monotony, and he has done his best to overcome this difficulty.

The culmination of the principles we have been following is reached in the Rāmchandra Mandir at Ahalya Asthān at Ahiāri in the Darbhanga District (Plate 9) which comes perhaps nearest of the Tirhut temples to that type of modern temple in Benares which Fergusson illustrates. At first sight it is not altogether obvious how this peculiar building is to be accounted for, nor how it falls into line with all the types we have just seen. It is, however, apparent, that as regards the panelling on the cella-wall, the Rāmchandra Mandir is but one step in advance of the Rām-ji Mandir at Semariā, which was shown in the preceding plate. That temple had nine panels; the present one shows eleven; although in this ultra-developed form they are no longer actual projections from the sides of the cella, but purely decorative panels. Their number, however, is eleven, and we feel instinctively that, in the light of all the other temples of this general

class which we have examined, this number of eleven should be rhythmically balanced in the storeys of the tower. Now to erect anything like an eleven-storeyed-tower on so small a base or cella as we see in this example would be a difficult and certainly most unæsthetic proceeding. The building is top-heavy even as we see it. The builder, therefore, was faced with two alternatives, as I conceive it, either to abandon the fundamental principle of construction, or to interpret it to fit his structure. He wisely chose the latter of these alternatives, and contrived to retain his rhythm and keep his eleven storeys in a most ingenious way. At either side of the tower we see that he has built up a series of five rows of miniatures, putting five such in the bottom row, four in the second, three in the third, and so on, with the result that these series rise in a definitely ascending scale. The eye travels *up* them. The sixth storey, however, which crosses the entire width of the pinnacle, serves as a transitional member, and brings us to the top of what is as clearly a descending series of single miniatures centrally placed and so constructed that the topmost one is the largest, and the others each smaller and smaller, so that here the progress of the eye is inevitably downwards. Thus, having ascended by the rising tiers at either side, and having thus accomplished five storeys, the eye of the beholder meets the transitional sixth storey at the top, and is then led downwards through yet five other storeys, in this ingenious way completing the number of eleven requisite for rhythm. Thus, although at first sight this temple at Aliāri appears a mere monstrosity quite as inscrutable as Fergusson's temple in Benares we can now see that in reality it constitutes the legitimate culmination of the style. There are faint traces of a curvilinear outline here as in the Benares example, but to my mind these are accidental, and in no way essential. They are sufficiently accounted for by the long familiarity of the Indian eye to the curvilinear outline of the Orissan type of shrine, but I cannot see that this curvature has any fundamental bearing on the problem of development in the type of temple in the Tirhut region. The class as a whole appears to me to be essentially distinct from the

Indo-Aryan type of Fergusson's discussion, and to be explained as we have seen on very simple lines in perfect independence of the Orissan style, save perhaps in individual instances where the outline of the *sikhara* has been influenced in a minor way and to an almost negligible extent.

Now it will have been noticed that in all the monuments that we have so far seen, the tower is square in plan. A very simple development from this original norm was effected by cutting off the four corners of the tower, with the result seen in the Shiva Mandir at Dandaspur in Sāran District (Plate II) where we see an octagonal tower decorated vertically as in the first group illustrated at the beginning of the lecture. The same principle is again illustrated by the Rādhā Krishna temple in Muzaffarpur (Plate 12) where an octagonal tower is treated horizontally. Here the projections on the side of the cella being two in number, the panels number five and the horizontal banding of the *sikhara* is measured or spaced with reference to this fact, although the pinnacle is left to do duty for the two uppermost storeys. In Plate 13, the Shiva Mandir of Ganpat Rām at Bagahā in Champāran, we have a similar octagonal tower with seven horizontal storeys, if we count the miniatures immediately above the entrance; but whether the side of the cella wall shows the three projections which this number of storeys indicates is unhappily not determinable from the photograph before us. In these more developed forms we sometimes find that the rythm has been overlooked,—sometimes, but by no means always. Some octagonal towers, however, appear to show an even number of storeys, which could never be the case were the fundamental principles borne in mind. Thus the miniatures piled at the angles here appear to mount through six storeys only; but the appearance is misleading, the tower being as we have seen seven-storeyed in reality. The same may be true elsewhere also where the rythm seems at first to have been overlooked.

From the octagon the plan of the tower passed by a natural transition into the true circle, and we get the temple with simple round tower, such as is shown by the Bhagawati Mandir at

Subegarh in the district of Muzaffarpur (Plate 15). This building I am told was erected by an exile from Nepāl, and forms perhaps no very genuine link in the chain of development in Tirhut. I venture to illustrate it here, however, as it fills what would otherwise be a gap in our logical series. There appears to be no other example of this type in the whole division, which perhaps is not regrettable on æsthetic grounds.

From the tower we pass next to the simple dome, a beautiful example of which is shown in Krishna Teli's Shiva Mandir at Mairow Dih in the Chapra Subdivision of Sāran District (Plate 16). But that neither the round tower nor the dome can be influenced by any principle of rythm such as we have witnessed in our earlier examples is obvious, and here we see that the side of the cella wall is treated simply as in the case of the primitive shrines at Sonpur with which we began our series as a whole.

One ugly temple at Kakraul in Darbhanga District shows an unadmirable development of this dome into a square form, but this I will not illustrate. Plate 18, however, shows a more graceful modification, where the round or square dome has passed into the octagon, this Rām Mandir at Samāstipur in Sāran being typical of a not numerous but picturesque class of temples, for some curious reason specially favoured and approved at Parsa in the same district, where there are several temples of this special type.

So far as my present survey goes, no further development of the simple tripartite unit is traceable in Tirhut. We have not yet by any means completed the story of temple development in Northern India, but part of the remaining story is traceable in multiplications of the units already seen. Thus (Plate 20), the Har-Mandir at Harauli in Muzaffarpur, shows us what was the next step forward, the building of two of the now familiar tripartite units side by side; in this particular case they are essentially two distinct units independent save for their being juxtaposed. But as all of you are aware, temples of this dual type frequently have the entrance porch in common, when their architectural unity is more apparent. In the Harauli temple we see the tower treated vertically by the application of two miniatures,

exactly as in the Har-Mandir at Ghatāru which was our third type above, and here too we see that there are two projections on the side of the cella wall, so that the unit even here is true to type.

Plate 22, the Shiva and Thākur Mandirs at Srinagar in Sāran, show the developed tower in circular form rising from a polygonal base, where the tower itself is decorated horizontally by bands of very schematic miniatures. In essence, however, the number of these miniatures corresponds exactly to the number of surfaces in the cella wall, so that strictly speaking this temple is only another and developed form of the type preceding. The treatment is really again a vertical one, and the resulting appearance of horizontal banding is more an accident than otherwise, which is interesting as showing how two seemingly quite distinct forms of decoration can overlap.

From two such units side by side the next step is clearly to a threefold form, and Mahant Jai Rām Dāss-ji's temple in Chapra (Plate 23) will illustrate this curious but pleasing stage of the development. I regret to say that this triple temple is unique in all Tirhut. Before leaving it let us appreciate the clever and successful way in which the artist has introduced variety in his treatment of the several spires.

So far as these simple units go, this is the whole series for Tirhut. But this growth into duplex and triplex forms was not the only development which took place. We have seen above that all these various temples consist of three parts, the cella, the tower and then the porch. But in some instances we see, as in the Kankālī Devi temple at Simrāongarh in Nepālese territory, (Plate 25), that in course of time the familiar porch developed into a sort of verandah all around the shrine, which gives us quite a new form altogether. Here the tower is decorated vertically as in the first group above, and the same varieties of tower may be traced here as in the case of simple units. It would however serve no useful purpose to illustrate all the now familiar stages over again, and I will show you only the Shiva Mandir at Sheohar in Muzaffarpur (Plate 28), as illustrating a temple of this general class with the tower treated in the horizontal fashion

Plate 29, the temple of Rādhā-ji at Jagdispur in Sāran, shows the same principle applied to a domed shrine, and the Rāmji Mandir at Bāngrā in Sāran illustrates the same with double towers (Plate 32). A further direction in which the class developed is seen in the case of the Mahādeva temple at Akhārā Ghāt in Muzaffarpur (Plate 34) where we find that instead of a single porch there is one on every side, the principles of the *sikhara* however remaining fixed. This particular variation, though, has not met general favour, and so far I have found only this single instance of this type in all Tirhut. What was a much more favourite development is shown in the familiar Panch Mandir type (Plate 35) as illustrated by a temple at Pojhiā in Muzaffarpur. Here we see that to the original shrine, constructed in this case on the principles of our Type 1 above, four minor shrines have been added, one at each of the four corners, all five being of the same simple type individually. In most instances, however, the central tower or *sikhara* in Panch Mandir temples is of more developed form than are the necessarily smaller corner shrines, thus Plate 37 shows us the Panch Mandir at Bāngrā (Sāran) where the central tower is of Type 4 and the corner ones of Type 3. In this way great diversity was obtainable and has in practice been obtained, the many Panch Mandirs in Tirhut exhibiting a wonderful variety on tabulation. Not each and every form of simple unit has been traced, of course, but a fairly extensive series does exist, too extensive for me to illustrate to-night. It will suffice if I show you one or two of the more striking examples, for instance the Panch Mandir at Chapra depicted in Plate 39. Here the builder has very neatly and successfully combined the two principles of decoration, making his central tower of the horizontal or storeyed type and the corner towers of the vertical order. The main spire I would point out seems at first to be four-storeyed; but the panelling on the cella wall being fivefold actually, I fancy that the lofty finial is meant to compensate and thereby keep the rythm. In the case of the corner towers we see the old principle adhered to very strictly, there being three projections on the side and three corresponding miniatures on the surface of the tower. In

the Panch Mandir at Chainpur in Sāran District (Plate 42) we cannot see from the photograph how many, if any, panels the cella walls may show, but the seven storeys of the central tower should indicate seven such, and the three storeys of the corner ones a single projection. The total effect is very pleasing, and in the enclosing of the side entrances we have the germ of what we shall soon see is the culmination of development in all these temples as a class.

Before we advance to that stage, however, I should like to show you Plate 43, another Panch Mandir at Chapra, which is remarkable not only for the clarity with which it illustrates the principles we have been discussing, but still more so for the wonderful approach it makes to European forms. There is nothing here to remind us of Fergusson's Orissan type at all, so far as I can see, and certainly nothing in the least cryptic or mysterious, as each and every step of the development has been traced this evening, from the simple shrines at Sonpur up to the masterpiece before us now. In architectural feeling it seems to me that the present example approaches curiously near to many ancient and famous shrines in European cities, and some here will, I fancy, be reminded of the great cathedral of Milan even before I draw attention to the similarity. And yet it must be perfectly apparent to all of us that despite the strong resemblance in external form, the two are as wholly independent and distinct as could be wished.

But just as all the towers in all the temples of our first and second classes were square in plan and from them we passed to the octagonal and then the round, so the development goes in the Panch Mandir type of temple also, and Plate 44 showing the Mahādeva temple at Rāmnagar in Champāran illustrates a form which is almost as reminiscent of Russian churches as the splendid Chapra temple was of Milan. Indeed, once when I happened to be showing these photographs to a group in a bazaar in Sāran, some villager remarked on quite his own initiative, on seeing this particular temple here, "*Wuh to mandir nei hai, girjah hai*", which showed an acumen I had not expected in that simple village.

The same development in the domed variety, as shown in Plate 45, the Rājmatā Mandir at Piprā Ghāt in Darbhanga District, is less like forms familiar to European eyes. But this again lies somewhat outside the general line of development among Tirhut temples.

A more essential step is illustrated by Plate 46, the Thākurbāri at Kānhauli in Muzaffarpur, where the enclosing of the spaces between the corner towers has come so into prominence that these porches and the corner towers or shrines are almost on an equality. When this is actually the case the final step is taken, and we reach the developed Navaratna type shown in Plate 47, which is Rāmā's temple at Muzaffarpur. But I am wrong really in calling this the final step. That consisted in adding to the complex now before us a further porch, such as is shown in Plate 48, another temple at Muzaffarpur, to Rām and Jānakī. This is the utmost culmination of temple architecture as illustrated now in the districts north of us, and I am sure that we are all agreed that this is a fitting and appropriate point for the development to stop. Any further development along the lines we have been tracing would result, or so it seems to me, in anti-climax; but stayed where it is at present, the style is wholly logical and wholly admirable. The people of Tirhut are to be warmly congratulated on the possession of so complete a series of temples as they now possess, a series sufficient to illustrate the whole development of this important style, and a series including many shrines of special interest and beauty. Let us hope that they will do their best to safeguard their inheritance, and to maintain the temples we have seen in good condition.

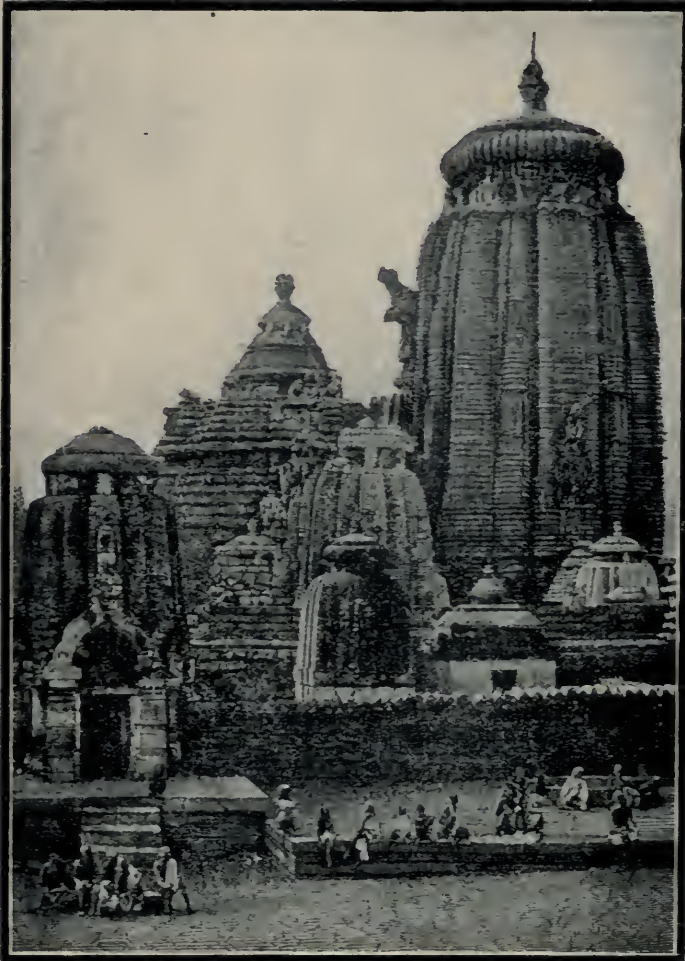


PLATE A.
The Lingarāj Temple at Bhubaneswar.



PLATE B.
Modern Temple at Benares.

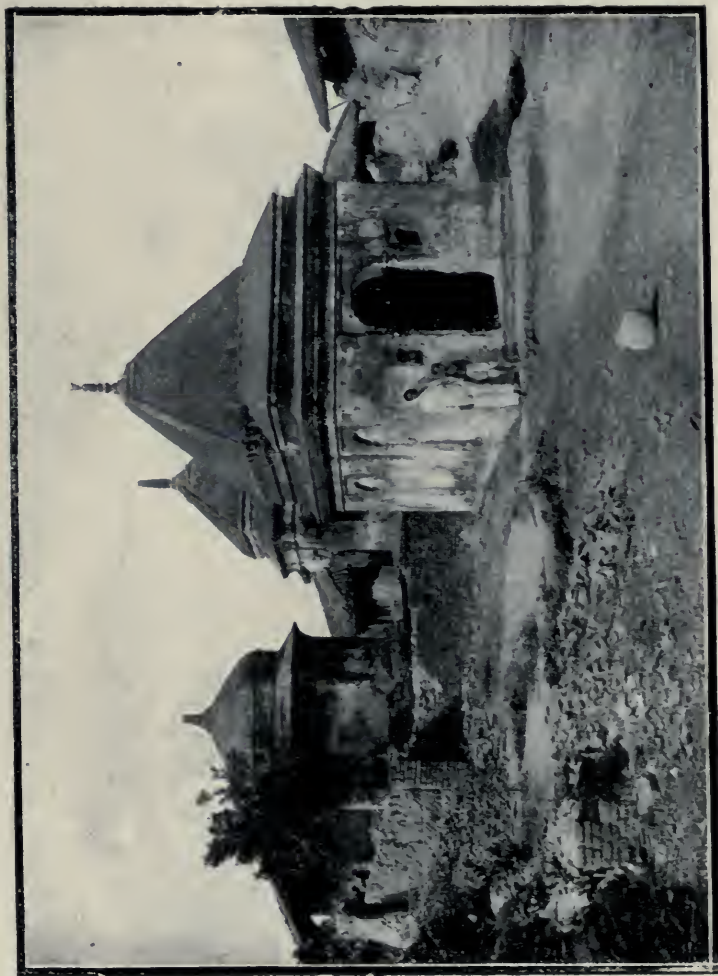


PLATE 1.
Temples at Sempur.

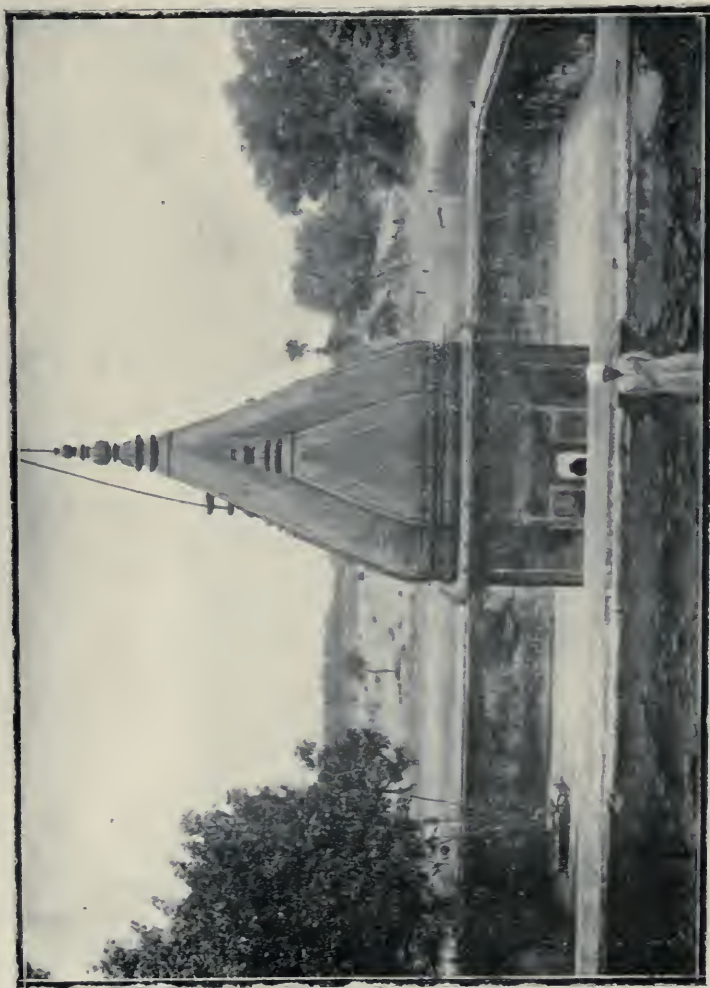


PLATE 2.
Shiva Temple at Padram.

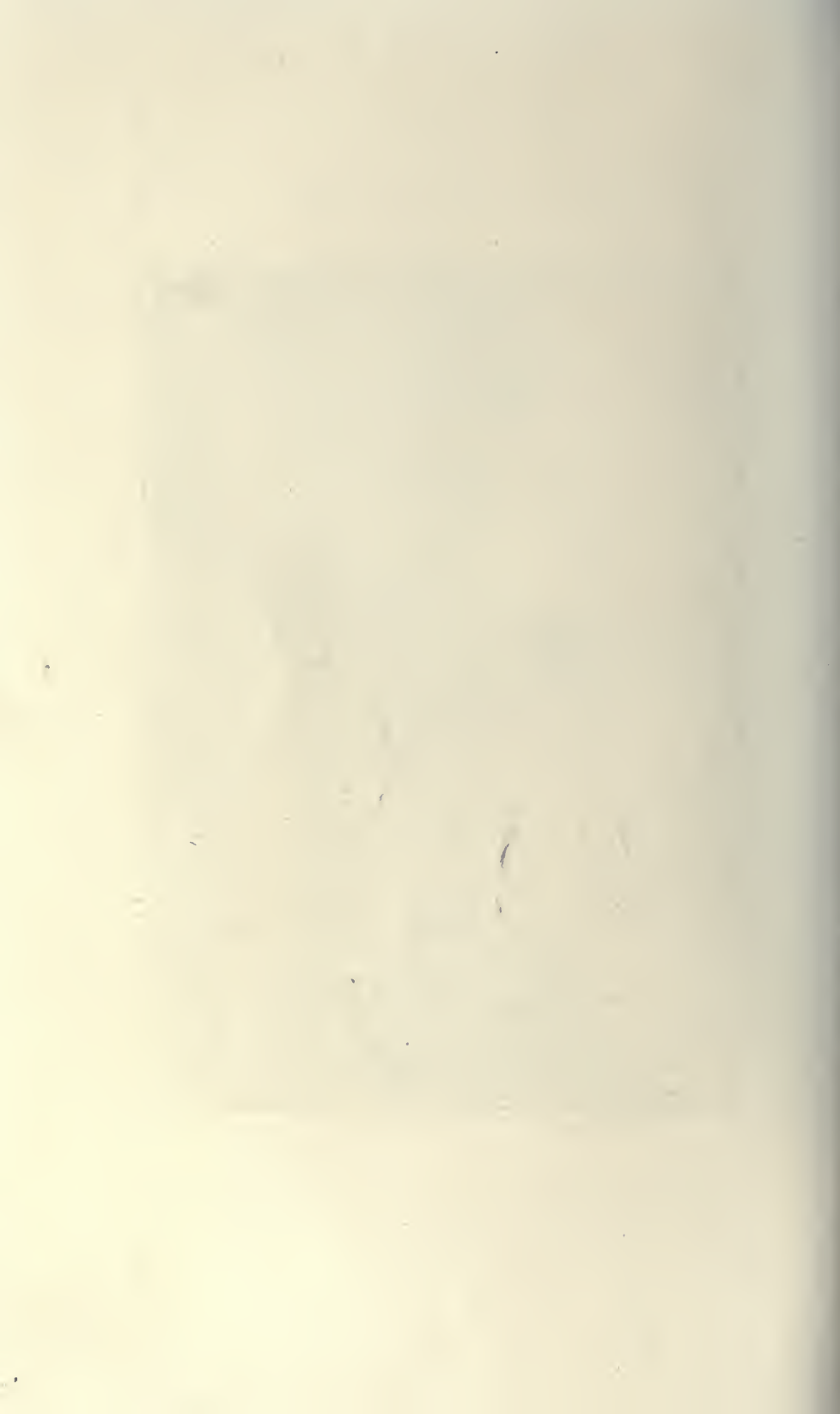




PLATE 3.
Har-Mandir at Ghatāru.



PLATE 4.
Mahādeva Temple in Chapra.



PLATE 5.
Shiva Temple at Bāgahā.



PLATE 6.
Kamaleswar Nath Temple at Triveni.

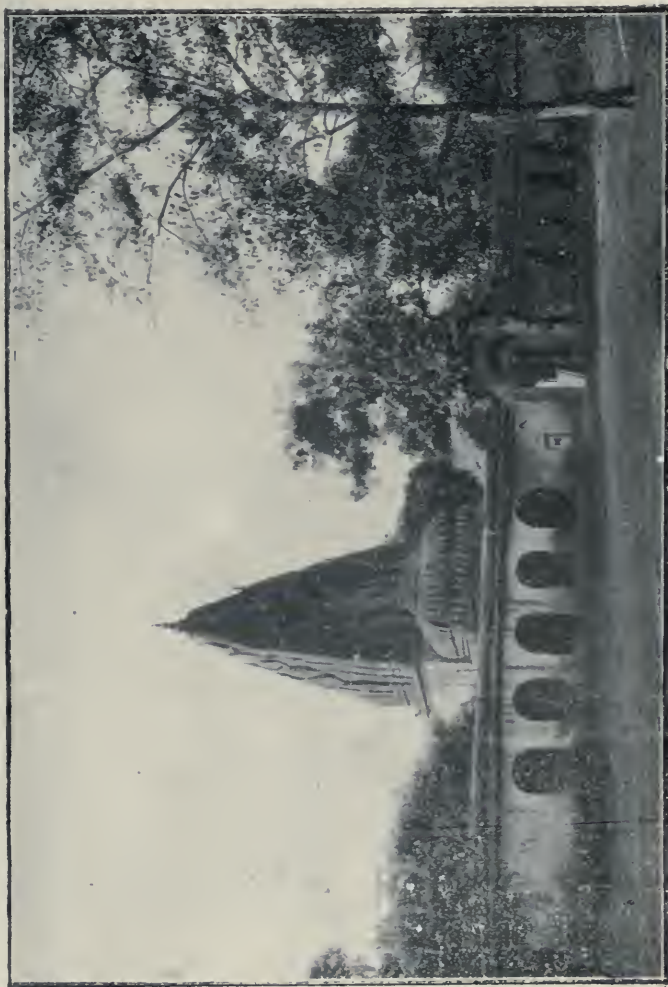


PLATE 7.
Mahādeva Asthān at Saurath.

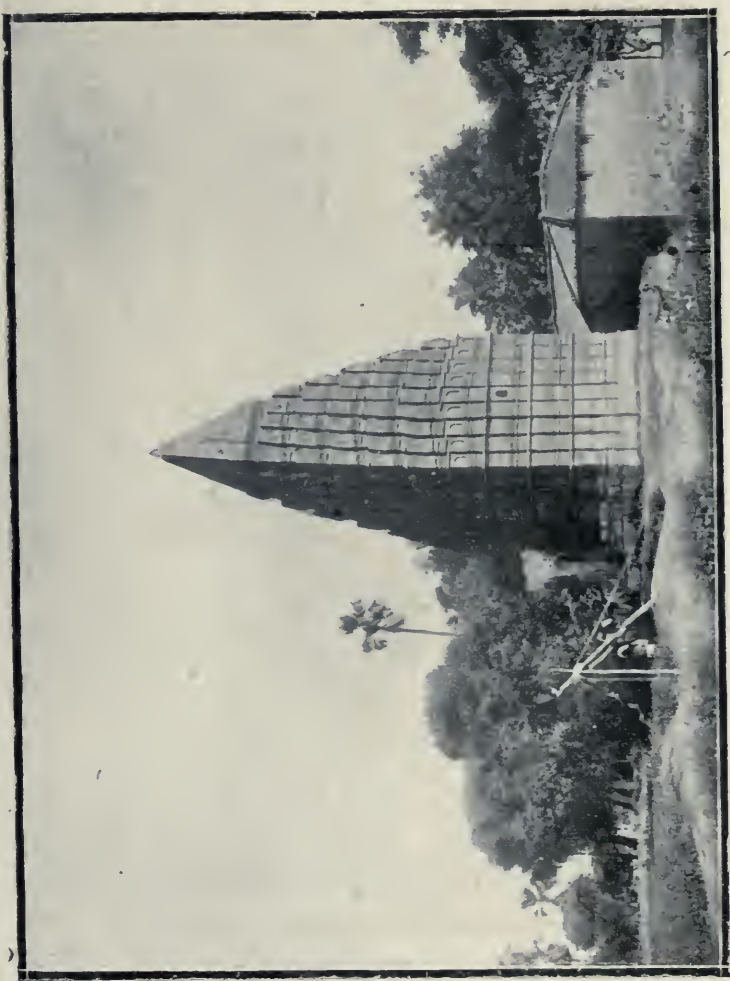


PLATE 8.
Rāmji Mandir at Semaria.

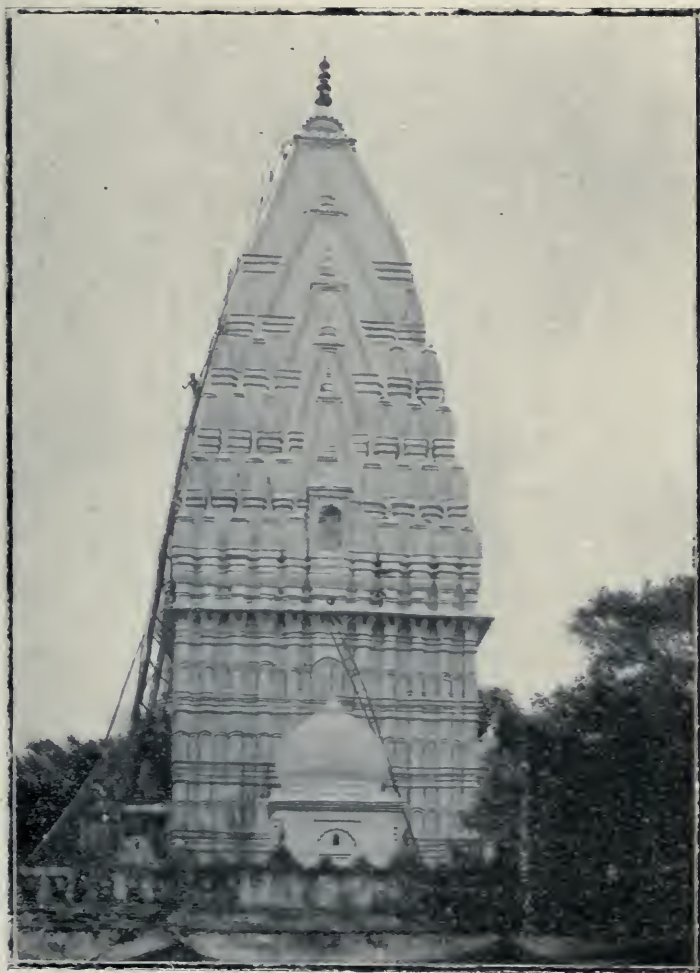


PLATE 9.
Rāmchandra Mandir at Ahiari.

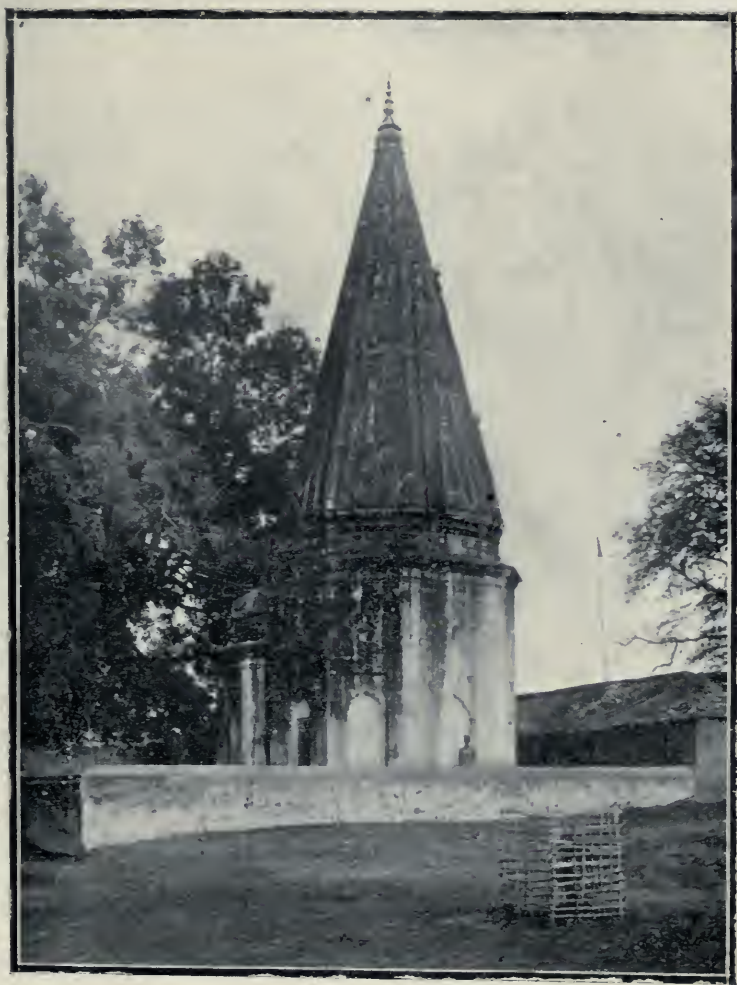


PLATE 11.
Shiva Mandir at Dandaspur,



PLATE 12.
Rādhā Krishna Temple in Muzaffarpur.

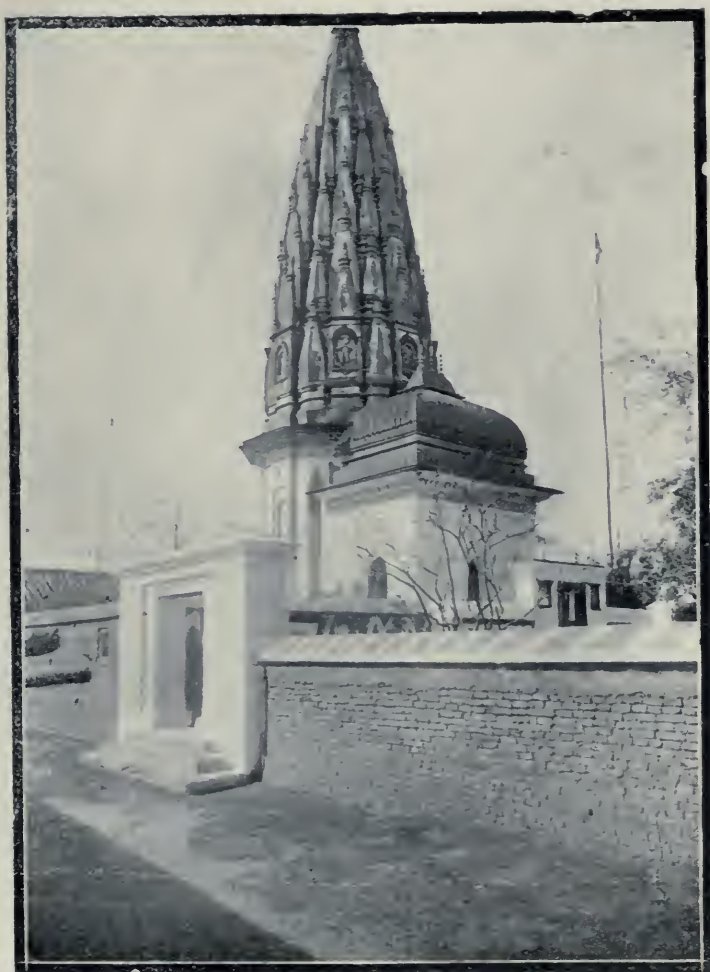


PLATE 13.
Shiva Mandir at Bāgāhā.



PLATE 15.
Bhagawati Mandir at Subegarh.

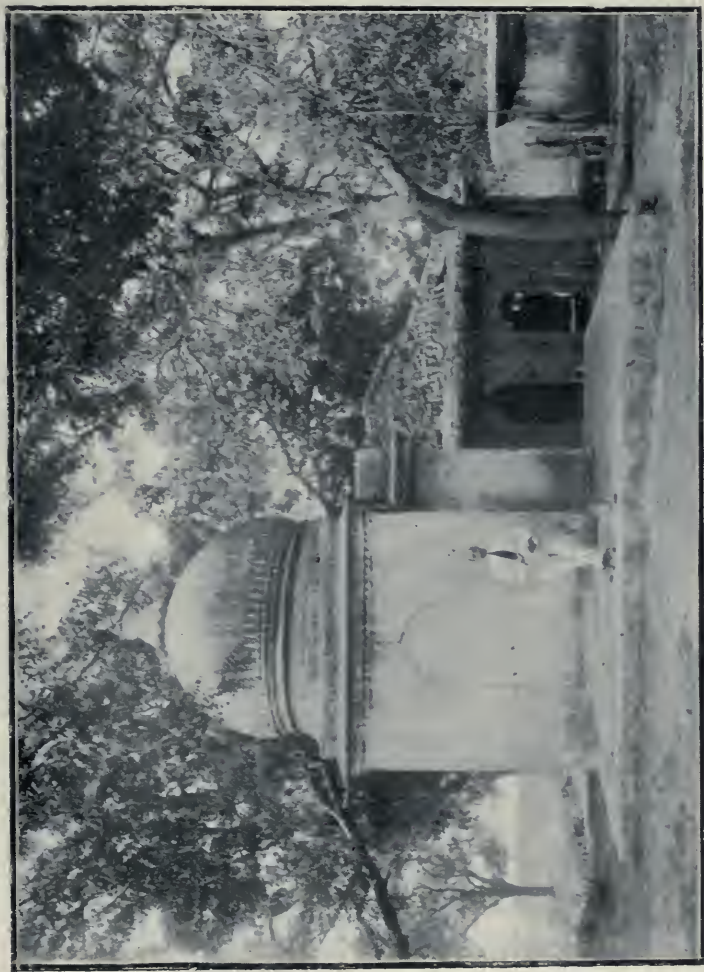


PLATE 16.
Shiva Mandir at Mairow Dei.

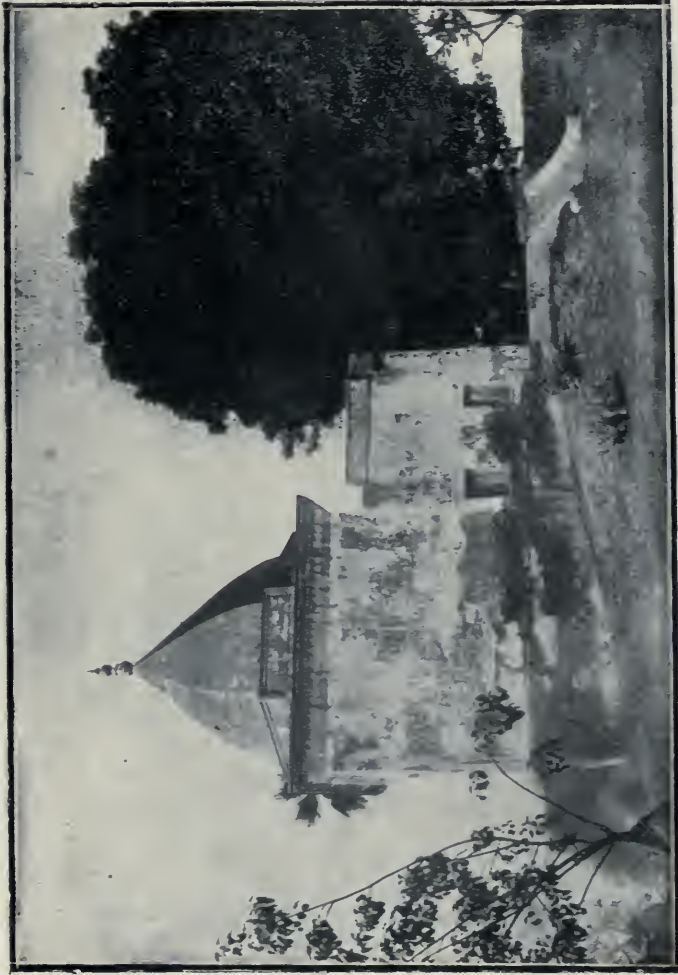


PLATE 18.
Ram Mandir at Samastipur.



PLATE 20.
Har-Mandir a' Harauli.



PLATE 22.
Shiva and Thakur Mandirs at Srinagar.

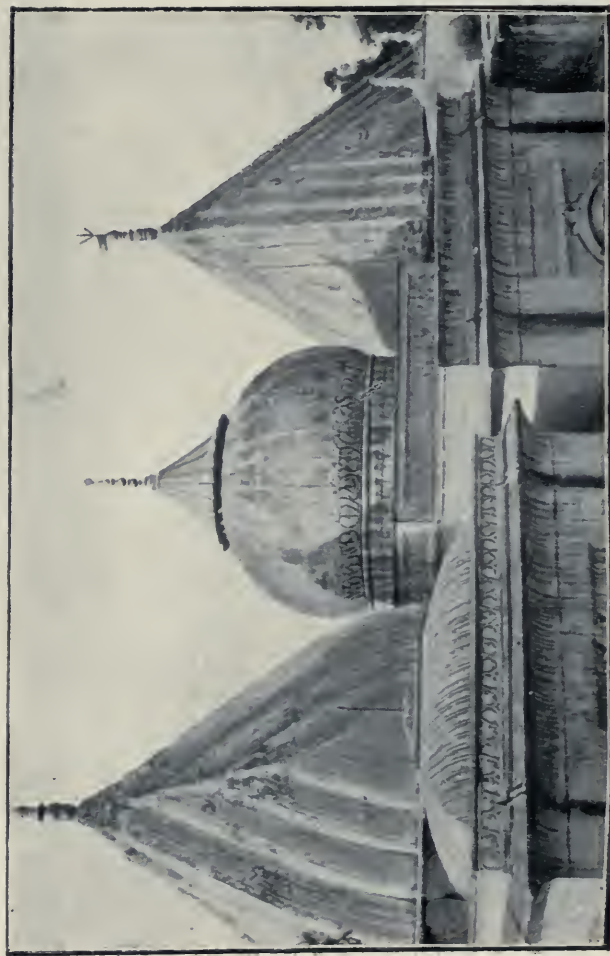


PLATE 23.

Mahant Jai Rām Dass-ji's Temples in Chapra.

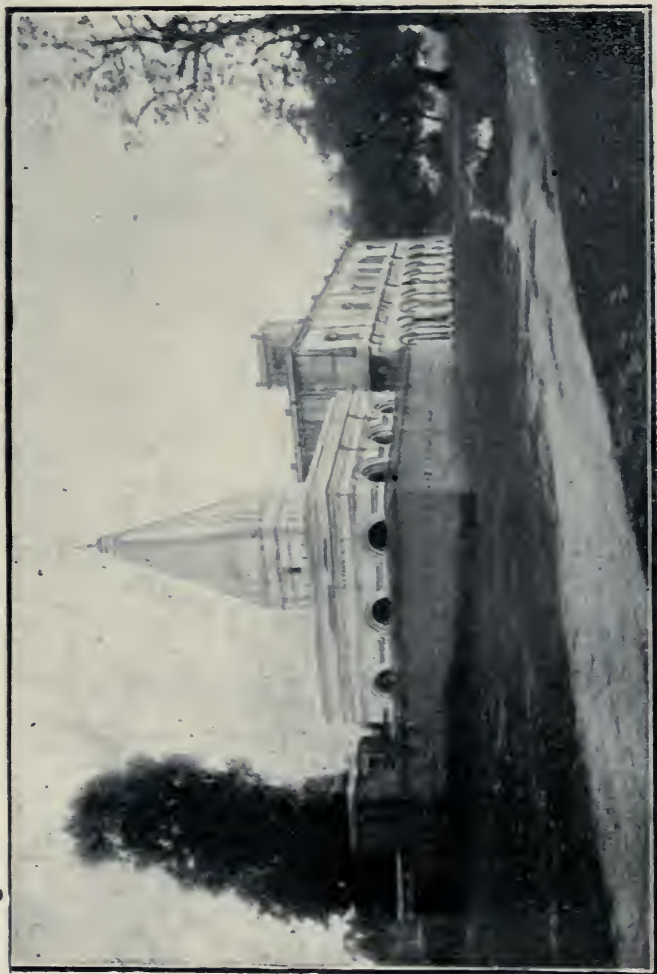


PLATE 25.
Kankali Devi Temple at Simraongarh.

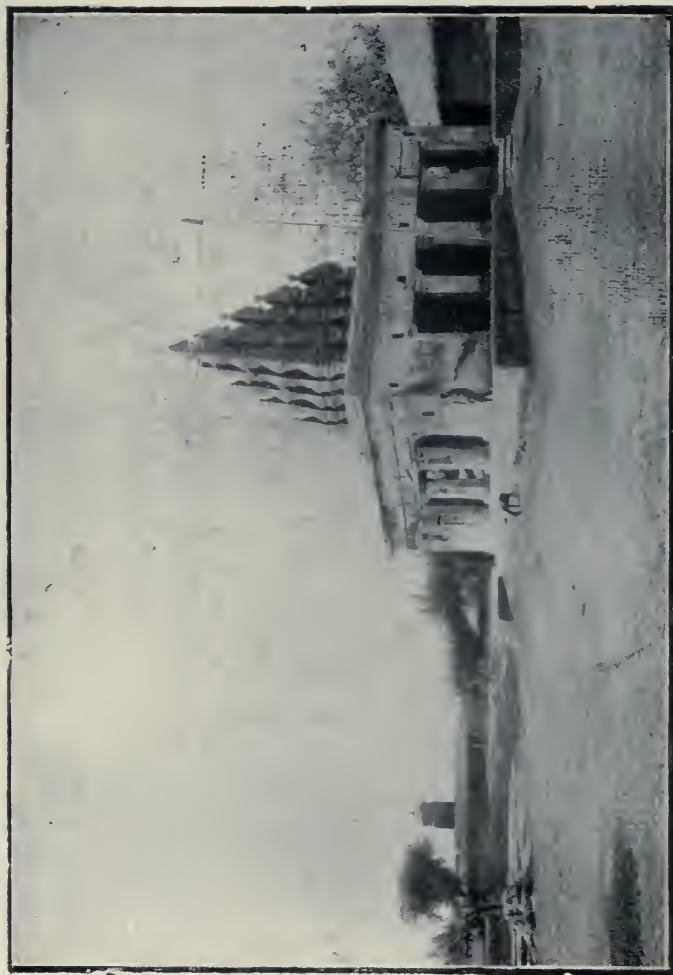


PLATE 28.
Shiva Mandir at Sheohar.

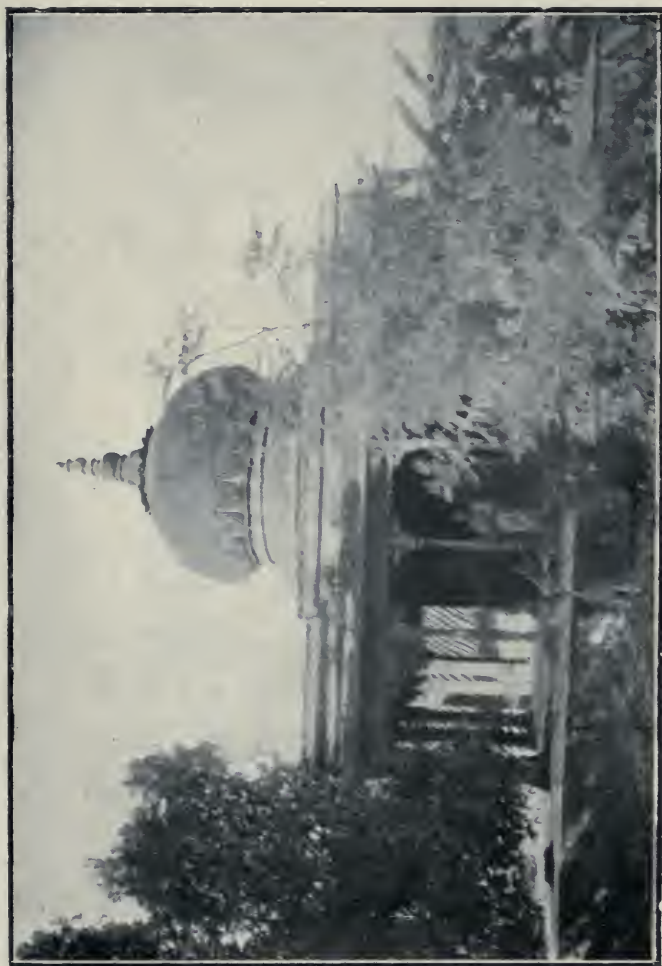


PLATE 29.
Temple of Rādhaji at Jagdispur.

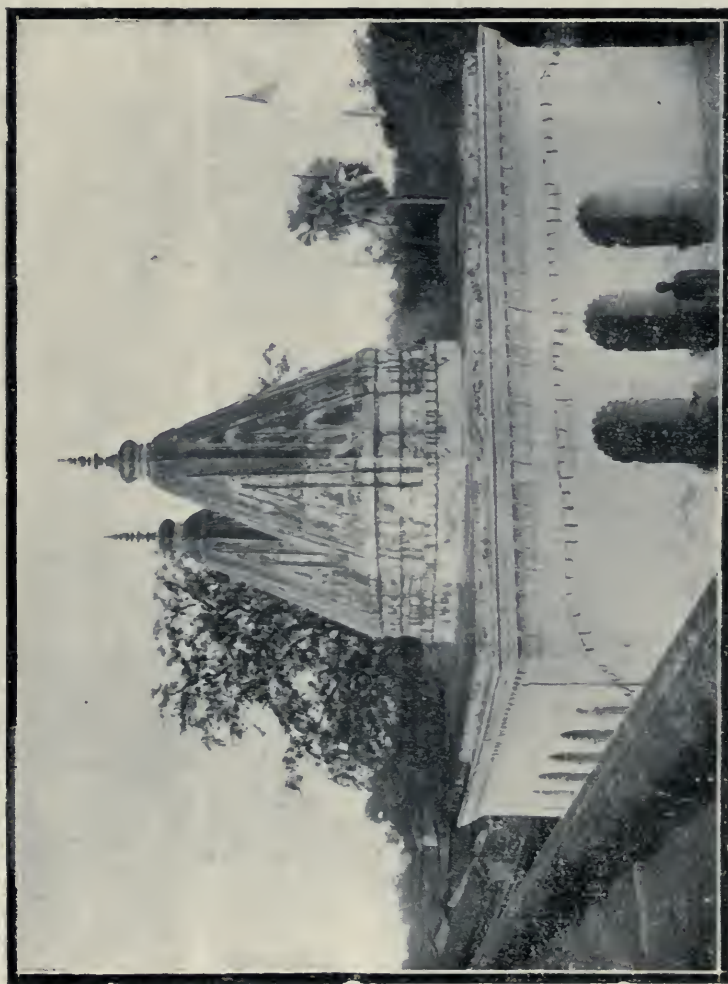


PLATE 32.
Rāmji Mandir at Bāngrā.

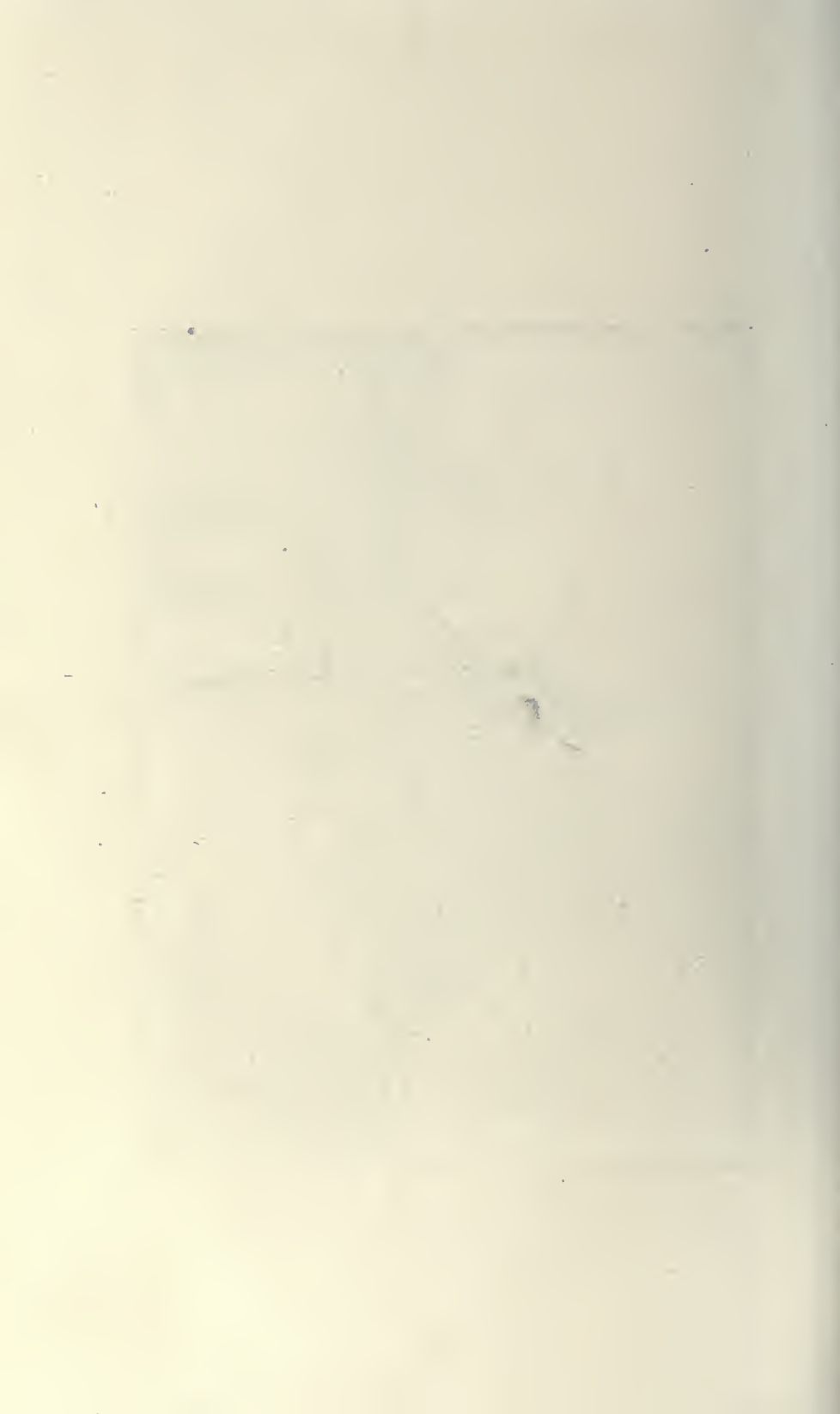




PLATE 34.
Mahadeva Temple, Akhara Ghat.



PLATE 35.
Panch Mandir at Pajhia.



PLATE 37.
Panch Mandir at Bāngrā.



PLATE 39.
Panch Mandir at Chapra,

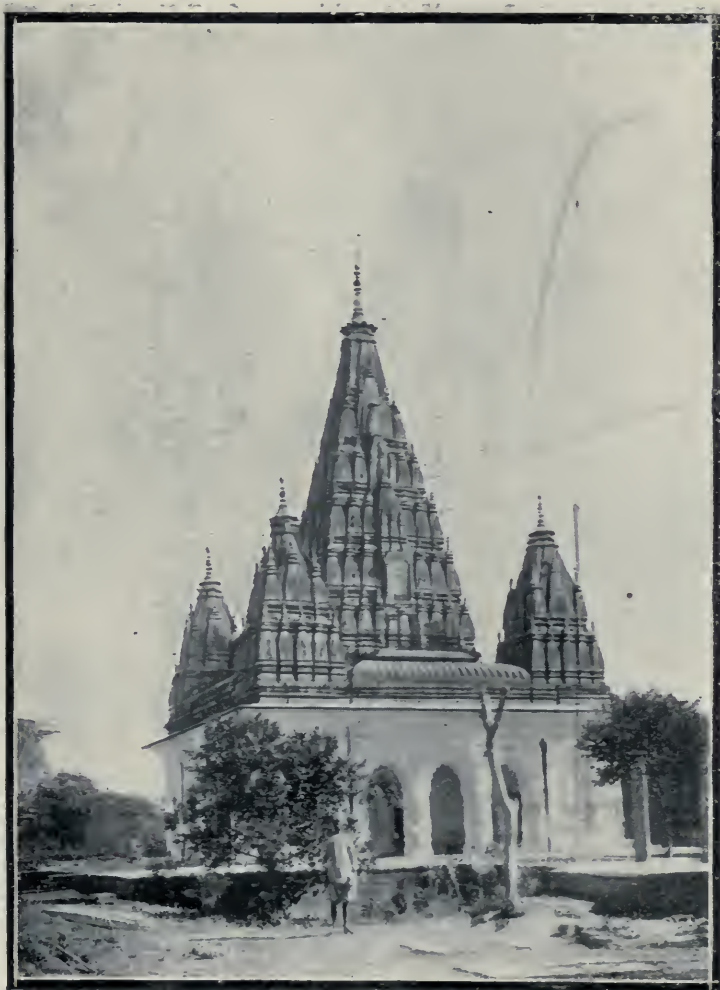


PLATE 42.
Panch Mandir at Chainpur.



PLATE 43.
Panch Mandir at Chapra,



PLATE 44.
Mahādeva Temple at Rāmnagar.

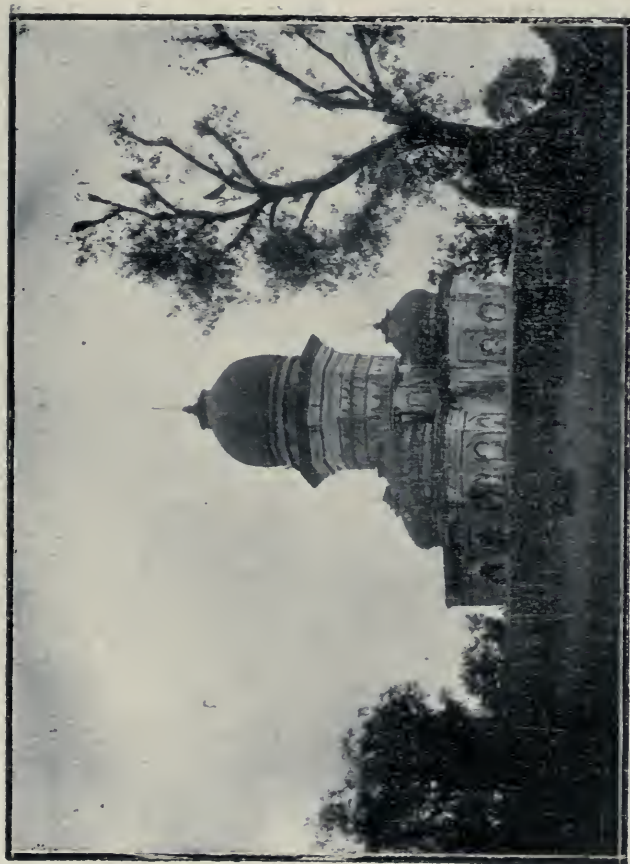


PLATE 45.
Rājmatā Mandir at Pīprā Ghat.



PLATE 43.
Thākurbāri at Kānauli.



PLATE 47.
Rama's Temple at Muzaffarpur.



PLATE 48.
Temple of Rām and Jānki at Muzaffarpur.

Wto

II.—House-building and Sanitation in Ancient India.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D. Litt.

[*Sources of Information.*—(1) Charaka-saṁhitā, (2) Sushruta-saṁhitā, (3) Matsya-Purāṇa, (4) Agni-Purāṇa, (5) Brihat-saṁhitā of Varāha-mihira, (6) Bhāvaprakāśha, (7) Vātsyāyana's Kāmasutra]

From a study of the above books we learn how careful the older Indians were in regard to planning their towns and cities, building their dwelling-houses, and arranging their daily life. We shall find, in course of our study, that they elaborated minute rules on these points,—rules that could not but have been arrived at by a course of reasoning and induction based upon long experience. It is true that in this country religious motives have been assigned to nearly all rules of life; the reason for this lay in the fact that the people of this country have always been by their very nature extremely ratiocinative; rightly or wrongly, they must exercise their thinking power over anything that is told them; so that if an Indian is told to do something simply for the purpose of some ordinary visible result, he is apt to reason somewhat thus—‘It may be that the following of the course of action suggested will lead to my happiness,—but the action is a difficult one,—will the happiness derived from it compensate for the trouble involved in the doing of the act?’—and being of a slothful temperament he is more likely than not

to leave the action alone and thus earn present ease and comfort. With a view to counteract this tendency, our teachers felt it advisable to go to the other extreme and attribute an invisible superphysical result to nearly every course of action that they prescribed. This, however, need not prevent us from dwelling upon and laying stress on the obvious benefits derivable from the rules and regulations laid down.

The state of sanitation in any country can be determined by three factors—(1) by the way in which its towns and villages are planned, (2) the disposition of the dwelling-houses and (3) the ways of living. This paper therefore will be divided into these three parts.

I

With every 108 'villages' it was considered necessary to have a 'town', which was the centre of trade and business of all kinds. The points of difference between a 'village' and 'town' were that the town was protected by a ditch and a wall, while the village was not so protected; the town was inhabited mostly by tradespeople, in addition to the king and his appurtenances, while the village was inhabited by agricultural people. In both these places, the presence of several roads and public squares was considered necessary; there used to be a large open space in the centre of the town. Within the town, the principal roads were 30 feet wide, and the side-alleys and lanes 8 to 12 feet wide. The open highway leading from one town to another was 100 feet wide. The village-roads were 60 feet wide. The reason for village-roads being wider than town-roads perhaps lay in the fact that, on account of the town being inhabited by well-to-do persons and being infested with all sorts of undesirable men, there was greater danger of theft and robbery in the town than in the villages; and this made more compactness desirable. Even at the present day we find people in the villages having their

harvesting farms in open spaces away from the dwelling-houses, while in the towns everything has to be kept within sight. It was this fear of robbers which led the people of the town gradually to give up all consideration for sanitation and concentrate their attention on devising means for safety from robbers; and it is the result of this that we find in our older towns today, where the more thickly populated parts, inhabited by the most well-to-do persons, have become mere dens where the sun's rays seldom reach.

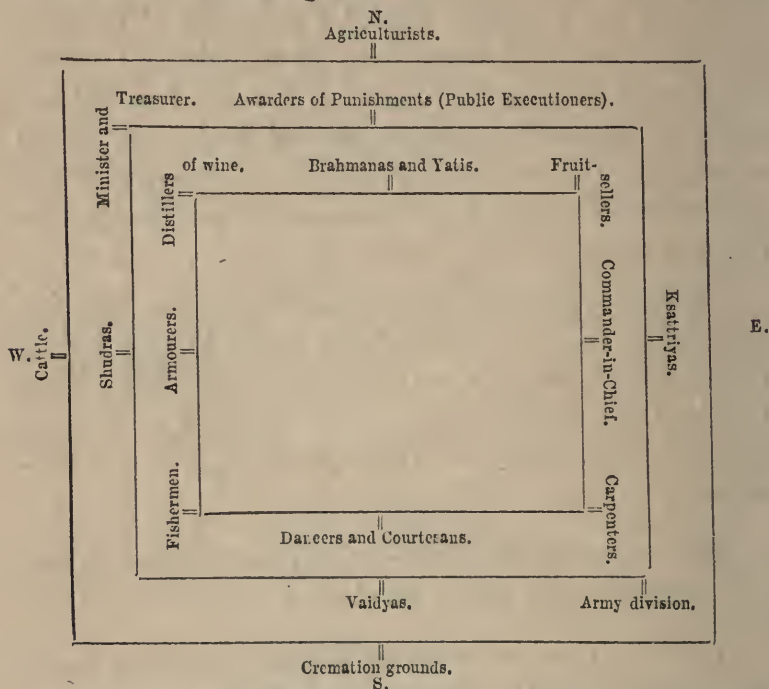
The older Indians paid due attention to drainage. It is laid down that a town or a village should always be located upon sloping ground, the slope towards the north and south being considered most desirable; and it was considered very wrong to have ditches and pools in close proximity to human habitations.

Eight miles from the city there were hunting grounds, and four miles from there villages were located.

It is clear from the description of cities found in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* that Indian towns in ancient times were clean, houses were placed apart from one another, the roads were clean, wide and well-watered and (occasionally) perfumed; and the markets and squares were carefully distributed. (Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana*, *Bālākāṇḍa*). In the *Kaṭambari* Bānabhatta also describes the city of Ujjayini as containing wide and clean roads and markets.

In *Agni-Purāṇa* (*Adhyāya*, 106) we find elaborate rules regarding town-planning. The area of the town should vary between 32 and 64 square miles; it should be surrounded by a wall—four gates on four sides, at least 9 feet wide, through which elephants may pass with ease;—the market-place should be broad;—the shape of the town should be like that of the bow; every town and village has its own temple and places of

worship;—the inhabitants were distributed in three lines, somewhat in the following manner :—



So much for towns and villages. As regards building-sites we find detailed directions laid down in the *Matsya Purāna* and the *Bṛihat-saṃhita*.

No dwelling-house is to be built upon barren land, or upon a plot that is sandy or damp. Special care should be taken in selecting a site, with a view to avoid the contingency of free access of light and air being endangered by the presence of obstructions in the shape of trees, etc. It is said that 'if there is a tree in front of the house, it gives rise to many undesirable results; if, in front of the house there happens to be a puddle, there is sorrow in the household; the presence of a well in close proximity to the house brings upon the inmates the disease of epilepsy, and the presence of a drain leads to suffering (*Agni-Purāna*, *Adhyāya*, 104). Nor were these people prone to merely propounding utopian rules; they were fully alive

to the fact that in several cases it may not be possible to avoid the presence of the forbidden things in front of the house. With a view to such cases it is laid down that if it be impossible to remove any particular obstruction, the house should be built in such a way as to leave between the house and the obstruction a clear space, which should be at least twice as long as the height of the proposed house. From this it is clear that in laying down this rule, the teachers had in view the necessity of free access of light and air. To the same end we have another rule, forbidding the building of one house immediately in front of another; every house should have a clear space at least in front and towards its left.

They were not content with only the cleanness of the upper surface of the site. It is laid down that before a house is built, the whole ground should be dug up—if possible, until a layer of water is reached, but, in any case—not less than 3 feet deep; and every unclean thing should be removed.

That they were very particular about the surroundings being clean and free from undesirable things is shown by the minute rules that have been laid down in connection with trees in the vicinity of houses. Exact reasons for the choice of these trees are difficult to imagine; but that the selection was not due to consideration for purely transcendental results is clear from the rule prohibiting the presence of the holy *Ashvattha* *Ficus religiosa* tree on the eastern side of the house. In point of transcendental results, the presence of this holy tree, an object of worship, should have been considered most desirable on the eastern side. It would seem therefore that these rules are based, more or less, upon sanitary considerations;—the result of long practical experience. We can reproduce here only a few of these rules:—(1) 'On the east avoid the *Ashvattha*; on the south the *Plaksa*; on the north-east, the Red-flower tree; on the south-east trees exuding milk'. (2) 'It is advisable to have the Banyan *Ficus Indica* on the east; the *Udumbara* *Ficus racemosa* on the south; the *Ashvattha* on the west and the *Plaksa* on the north' (*Matsya-Purāna*). (3) 'It is not right to have near the house trees with thorns; trees exuding milk

or fruit trees'. But if there be any such tree already existing, it should not be cut; as the cutting of trees is deprecated; between the house and the prohibited tree some other desirable tree should be planted; such trees for instance, as the Ashoka, the Bakula, the Champa, Pomegranate, Grapes, Cocanut and Bilva. Considerations of light and air come in here also: it is said that 'even a tree of gold should not be planted opposite to the main door of the house.'

II

We have seen above with what care and foresight the old Indians chose their dwelling sites. We now proceed to examine what rules they have laid down in regard to the building of the dwelling-houses.

There used to be eight kinds of houses: (1) Built of stone, called '*Mandira*', (2) built of baked bricks, called '*Vāstu*', (3) built of unbaked bricks, called '*Sumanta*', (4) built of clay, called '*Sudhāra*', (5) built of wood, called '*Mānāśya*', (6) built of bamboos, called '*Mandana*', (7) built of cloth, called '*Vijaya*', and (8) built of grass, called '*Kālīma*'.

The *Charak-saṃhita* (Sutrasthāna, Adhyāya, 15) lays down the following directions:—The house should be strong; free from air-draughts; and yet some parts should be open enough to admit of fresh air from all four directions. Rooms should not be very small; they should be large enough to allow of all members of the family moving about freely. The house should not be built just below another high house. There should be free access of light and air. Places exposed to much smoke or dust or noise or bad smell should be avoided. It is not desirable to have the rooms exposed to too much sun. The plinth should be at least high enough to make it necessary to have a flight of steps leading to it. Kitchen, bathing room and latrine should be each apart, and aloof from the dwelling-house.

Further on, in *Adhyāya* II of the *Nidānasthāna*, the *Charaka-saṃhita* goes on to say that one should avoid places where there is bad smell, where the ground is barren or damp,

which is infested with snakes, insects or mosquitoes, where there is too much of weeds growing wild, where the neighbours are ill-mannered or addicted to bad pursuits, which is liable to shocks of earthquake, and which is not open enough to receive sufficient light and air.

All the books insist upon the latrine being aloof from the rest of the dwelling. But even so this latrine was meant for the sick and the infirm only. For the man in ordinary health, it was necessary to go out into the open jungles. It is laid down that one should proceed at least so far from his house as would be reached by an arrow shot with ordinary force; and the further minute directions laid down bear testimony to the care and attention that people devoted to this branch of sanitation. If these directions are followed there can be no possibility of any kind of evil smell spreading.

Each ordinary household, according to the *Brihat-samhita*, consisted of five houses, built round a courtyard. The exact dimensions of the houses varied with the caste and profession of the dweller. Different dimensions have been prescribed for the houses of Kings, Commanders of armies, Ministers, Brāhmanas, Ksattriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. In this paper when speaking of the details in regard to the dimensions we shall take the Brāhmana's house as the standard.

Of the five houses, the width should be 48, 42, 36, 30 and 24 feet respectively; and the length of a house was $\text{width} + \frac{\text{width}}{10}$; so that the length of the houses would be—(1) $48 + \frac{48}{10}$, (2) $42 + \frac{42}{10}$, (3) $36 + \frac{36}{10}$, (4) $30 + \frac{30}{10}$, and (5) $24 + \frac{24}{10}$. In regard to the cattle-house, granary and 'fire-house' (the Sacrificial House) no precise dimensions are laid down. These would naturally vary with the requirements of the householder.

Towards the courtyard there should be verandahs to all the five houses. The width of the verandah was—

$$\frac{(\text{Length of House} + \text{width of House}) \times \text{---}}{14}$$

so that in our standard house it would be—

$$\frac{(48 + \frac{48}{10} + 48) \times 2}{14} = 15 \text{ feet approximately.}$$

But according to the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, the width of the verandah should be half of the width of the house; so that, by this, it would be 24 feet. Towards the outside there should be a terrace along the houses,—according to the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*; but the *Matsya-Purāṇa* would have verandahs here also.

That people were careful regarding the outward appearance is shown by the rule that future extensions, when made, should be on all sides, and not only on one side.

The plinth of the house should be at least $\frac{1}{12}$, and not more than $\frac{1}{12}$, of its width; so that in our standard house, it would be between 3 feet and 4 feet. But *Vishvakarmā*, as quoted by Bhattotpala, lays down 4 feet as the standard plinth for all houses.

The thickness of the wall should be $\frac{1}{8}$ of the width of the house; so that in our standard house it would be 3 feet. The thickness of the wall was proportionate to the width of the house, because the wider the house, the longer would be the beam; and hence the wall should be correspondingly thick, in order to be able to bear the burden of the beams.

In regard to all these rules, Bhattotpala, in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, says that they apply to brick-built houses. In connection with houses built of wood, bamboo or grass, there are no such hard-and-fast rules in regard to the size, etc., though of course those relating to sanitation are equally binding on all.

The height of the house should not be more than its width says the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*. But the *Agnipurāṇa* (*Adhyāya*, 104, verse 27) would have the height double of the width. This, we are inclined to think, refers to a double-storied house.

As regards the door, its width should be—in *Anguls* or

$$\text{inches—} \frac{\text{width of house}}{5} + 18 + \frac{\text{width of house}}{8},$$

so that in our standard house it would be—

$$\frac{48}{5} + 18 + \frac{4}{8} = 3 \text{ feet nearly.}$$

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* has laid down 7 feet as the width of the door. But this refers to the King's house. For the royal palace the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā* lays down 15 feet as the height.

According to the *Matsya-Purāna*, the width of the door should be half its height. Though according to the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, the height of the door should be three times its width ; by this, the door in one standard house would be nearly 3 feet wide and nearly 9 feet high.

Every house should have doors on all four sides ; but no two doors should be exactly opposite each other. Even the modern village mason is very particular about this. In spite of the strictest orders of the master, he will never allow two doors to be exactly opposite, but will shift them at least an inch or two. The preventing of direct draught appears to be the motive underlying this rule.

In regard to pillars, we have the following directions. The height of the pillar above the plinth should be 16 feet. Its diameter at the base should be—

$$\frac{\text{Height} \times 9}{80} = \frac{16 \times 9}{80} = \frac{9}{5} \text{ (i.e., nearly 2 feet).}$$

It should taper towards the top, where its diameter should be nearly 20 inches. The circumference would be nearly thrice the diameter. The entire pillar having been divided into nine parts—

The first ninth part— shall be the pedestal.

„ second „ „ masonry work, jar-shaped.

„ third „ „ „ lotus-shaped.

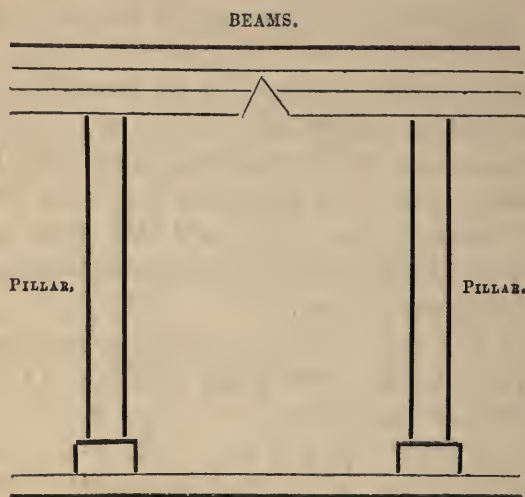
„ fourth „ „ „ overhanging lips.

Above this comes the main body of the pillar, which may be either round (called '*vṛittar*'), or four-sided (called *Ruchaka*), or eight-sided (called *Fajra*), or sixteen-sided (called *Dvivajra*), or thirty-two-sided (called *Pralinaka*).

Over these pillars beams are placed horizontally—the thickness of these beams to be the same as that of the pillar.

It is interesting to note in this connection that there is no mention of arches. In fact arches, in the proper sense of the term, were unknown to the Hindus. On looking at the older

Hindu temples we find that in the place of arches we have the following arrangement :—



where it will be seen that the opening of the arch is obtained by putting the beams over one another in a peculiar manner.

As regards materials, it was not considered right to mix old and new material, or baked and unbaked bricks. But where it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to the latter mixture, the unbaked bricks were placed in the foundations over some layers of baked bricks, and above that they might be placed in any order one chose.

The *Bṛihat-sāṃhitā* lays down rules as to the particular kinds of wood to be used in house-building. Wood of thorny trees, or of trees exuding milk, or of Kadamba, or of Bhallātaka, was considered undesirable. The Jack-tree and Sandal-wood are highly recommended. It is not easy to find out the grounds on which these selections were made. Mere strength or lasting properties of the wood do not appear to have been the criterion; for the wood of thorny trees is generally tough, and yet this has been discarded. It would appear as if these selections also were based upon sanitary considerations.

The disposition of the several houses was as follows :—

The Eastern House was used as the 'Shri-Griha' (as the 'devagriha' is separately mentioned, this would appear to be the best furnished drawing-room).

S.-E. House was Kitchen.

S. „ Sleeping house.

S.-W. „ Armoury (according to Agni-Purāna) and
Store-house for utensils (according
to *Brihat-sāmhita*).

W. „ Dining Room.

N.-W. „ Granary.

N. „ Treasury.

N.-E. „ "Devagriha"—Temple of the Household
God.

They thought it desirable to have open spaces around the house ; and this compound had two outlets—the principal gate being on the east ; a subsidiary one towards the south. All refuse was to go out of this latter gate ; and near this gate was also to be the place for lumber and such work as the hewing of wood and the like.

The dwelling-house should not be very far from the source of water-supply. In the space intervening between the house and the water, it was thought desirable to have a garden. In the household itself, separate rooms should be assigned to separate business ; there should be two bed-rooms ; in which there should be bed-steads, covered with white sheet, which should be washed at least every third day ; there should be two pillows ; one towards the head and another towards the feet. Towards the head of the bed there should be a small table for keeping articles of worship, books, scents, powders for arresting perspiration, and such other things. There should always be a spittoon on the floor ;—musical instruments should be hung on pegs in the wall ; outside in the garden there should be a swing in a shady place. All these details are laid down in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmāsūtra*,

In regard to kitchens, we have the following directions in the *Sushruta-sāṃhitā* (Kalpasthāna, Adhyāya, I) :—The kitchen should be roomy ; having a door towards the north ; a curtain or *chik* should hang in this door in order to prevent the entering of flies, etc. ; over the top of the walls there should be netted openings for the exit of smoke ; there should be a ceiling in the roof ; the utensils should be cleaned with ashes and washed each time they are used ; no one should enter in the kitchen unless he has bathed and put on clean clothing, and carefully cleaned his nails.

III

In regard to the ways of living and feeding and drinking we meet with minute instructions.

The *Kāmasūtra* mentions the following as absolutely necessary :—

Daily bath, daily massage of the body with perfumed oil, soaping every third day, cropping of the head and shaving of the chin and paring of nails once a week, the pulling out of inconvenient hairs every tenth day (but the hair in the nose should never be pulled out), the constant wiping of perspiration with a napkin, devoting three-eighths of the day to business, food during the fourth and eighth parts of the day ; [but some people would have the second feeding at night] ; sleep during the day only in summer ; amusements, chiefly music in the evening.

In addition to the above, the *Bhāvaprakāsha* makes daily combing of the hair also a necessity ; so also daily physical exercise, specially during winter and spring ; but the exercise should never go beyond a man's 'half strength.' *Sushruta* also lays stress on this precaution, and says that if it exceeds the limit of 'half strength', exercise becomes harmful ; it also explains how one is to know when he has reached this limit—'when the breath from the heart begins to come to the mouth rather quickly (*i.e.* when one begins to pant) and the mouth begins to get dry, these are signs of the limit of half-strength having been reached'. After this the exercise should be stopped. Exercise should never

follow close after a meal. Physical exercise should be avoided by men suffering from cough, asthma, consumption and hæmorrhage (*Bhāvaprakāśha*, 4: 59). Dirty clothes should never be worn; only two meals should be taken; the first meal being taken between 9 and 12.

Very much fuller detailed directions are found in the *Charaka* and *Sushruta-sāṃhitā*.

Sushruta-sāṃhitā (*Adhyāya*, 5) has defined the 'healthy man' as 'one whose bodily wants arise at regular intervals, the operation of whose bodily elements and the working of whose excretory organs are regular and normal, and whose organs and mind are happy'.

Among daily duties, we have the following laid down in the *Charaka-sāṃhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna Adhyāya*, 5):—The teeth and tongue should be cleaned twice daily, morning and evening; the head should be oiled; oil should be dropped into the ear; oil should be rubbed over the body; daily bath followed by the wearing of clean clothes, applying of sandal-paint, wearing of sweet-smelling flowers, the cropping and cleaning of the hair; one should never go out without shoes, umbrella and stick at night; collyrium should be applied to the eyes; smoking twice a day; and in connection with smoking it is interesting to note that the method of smoking was somewhat similar to cigar-smoking; the *Kādambari*, for instance, speaks of a king as '*paripitadhumavartih*' 'having smoked the roll;' and the *Charaka-sāṃhitā* lays down the details of preparing this 'roll'; thirty-two sweet-smelling substances were powdered and made into a "roll" as thick as the thumb, and in smoking, fire was lighted at one end of this roll and the other end was put into the mouth. It is gratifying to find that not one of the thirty-two substances prescribed is tobacco, opium or any narcotic drug. Smoking has been prohibited for weak and fatigued persons.

In connection with the seasons we are told that, during winter the food taken should be hot and dry. During spring purgatives and emetics are beneficial; heavy food of any kind,

pecially butter, should be avoided. During summer the food should be very light, rice being substituted for wheat, and all physical exercise should be avoided. During the rains honey should be taken with food ; on days when it is raining hard one must eat acids, salt and butter. During autumn rice mixed with light meat is wholesome ; no purgative should be taken during this season ; drinking water should be exposed to the sun and to moonlight ; one should move about as much as possible in moonlight.

Whenever there is desire for evacuation, for vomiting, for sneezing, for yawning, for food, for water, for sleep, or for breathing (after exercise), it should not be checked. The checking of these is very harmful. What one must check is the force of such things as too much daring, the passions, hasty speech, strong appetites, avarice and fear.

For the preventing of disease it is necessary that one should give up all indiscretions, should keep his organs of sense under proper control ; the directions laid down in the scriptures, as also the results of past experience, should be duly noted and borne in mind ; one should always take into consideration the peculiarities of time, of place and of his own condition : and he should never deviate from the right course of conduct (*Charaka-sāṃhitā, Adhyāya, 7*).

Food should never be taken before bath ; before a sitting down to dinner or breakfast, one must change his clothes and wash his mouth, hands and feet ; the vessels should all be washed and cleaned ; so also the place ; one should not eat in a crowded place ; food cooked overnight is unwholesome (*Charaka-sāṃhitā, Adhyāya, 8*). The food should be hot, soft and not very dry, it should be taken in measured quantities ; there should be a long interval between two meals ; meals should never be hurried ; too much water should not be drunk after meals (*Charaka-sāṃhitā, Nīdanasthāna, Adhyāya I*).

In regard to drinking water the *Charaka-sāṃhitā* (*Nīdanasthāna, Adhyāya, 2*) says that stagnant water is always heavier than flowing water ; sea-water should never be drunk ; one should

never drink water in which there are insects or rotting vegetation; or which smells badly, or water taken from a drying tank or well in which only a little water has been left.

It is in the *Sushruta-sāṃhitā* (*Adhyāya*, 45) that we find very elaborate directions in connection with drinking water.

For drinking rain-water, collected before it touches the ground, is most highly recommended. But even in rain-water a distinction has been made—one kind has been 'called *Sāmudrā* coming from the ocean (by which perhaps it is meant that the rain has fallen from clouds formed by vapours emanating from sea-water); and the other has been called *Gāṅg*, 'coming from the *Gangā*'; the following test has been prescribed: when it is raining place a silver vessel filled with white rice in the rain; after a couple of hours if the water changes colour and acquires some sort of smell, the water should be regarded as coming from the ocean; while if there is no change in the colour of the water and there is no 'odour of any kind, it should be regarded as "coming from the *Gangā*". During the rainy season, rain-water is the best for drinking; during the autumn, all water is equally good; in the winter water from lakes and tanks is recommended, during spring and summer water from wells and springs is considered best. No drinking water should be drawn from a source in which the dead body of an animal has been found, in which leaves, etc., are rotting, in which people bathe, on which the rays of the sun and the moon do not fall, or which is too cold. When however good water is not available, one should either thoroughly boil the water, or should put into it a red-hot ball of iron, before it is used for drinking purposes. For the purpose of cleaning water of mud and other things held in solution, the putting into it of certain substances has been recommended; a few such substances are—a fruit-seed called, *Nirmali*, the root of the lotus-plant, water weeds, pearl, and certain other gems.

If the water is not sufficiently cool, it should be fanned or exposed to draught of air, or it should be put in an earthen-jar standing on wet sand. Drinking water from wells or tanks

or lakes should be drawn in the early morning. But of all water on the earth, river-water is the best ; it promotes digestion.

The *Sushruta-sāṃhitā* devotes a chapter (*Adhyāya*, 20) to air. The air that comes from the east is sweet, saltish and heavy ; it produces a burning sensation in the body ; promotes bile ; interferes with the healing of sores ; it is harmful to persons with a phlegmatic temperament. The air coming from the north is sweet, cool and pungent ; it is light and healthy ; promotes energy and is beneficial to the eye. The air coming from the west is dry and hard ; makes the body rough ; is enervating ; it is unhealthy. The air coming from the south is soft, sweet, pungent, cool and healthy ; it promotes energy ; it is specially beneficial to consumptives.

The *Sushruta-sāṃhitā*, towards its close, sums up its advice to men as follows :—Bathing is necessary ; clothing should be clean ; when going out one must carry an umbrella and a stick ; one should walk gently in clean places ; one should never talk ill of the King, Gods or his elders ; one should avoid the company of bad men ; one should never climb trees or thills ; one should avoid riding wicked horses or elephants ; one should never enter an unknown stream ; one must avoid places where any epidemic is spreading ; one should never check the flow of the excretory organs ; if one chances to sneeze or yawn among a large number of men he should always cover up his mouth ; one should not expose his chest either to wind or to sun ; one should not stare at the sun or the star ; when sleeping the head should always be kept on a higher level than the rest of the body ; meals should be regular ; one should never eat at the house of men or women of bad character, or of such persons as have been dismissed from their posts ; one should never eat anything in which hair or fly or insects have fallen ; hands and feet should always be washed before food.

From the above it will be seen that the old people of this country knew and practised many laws of health and sanitation which have since been forgotten, with results that all deplore.

It is a mere glimpse of this vast and interesting subject that has been provided in this paper. It is an inviting branch of study, and the present writer has written this paper in the hope that some one more competent to deal with the problems here discussed will be induced to take up the study and give to the world the benefit thereof.

III.—The History of Orissa in the Seventeenth Century, reconstructed from Persian sources.

By Jadunath Sarkar, M. A.

SECTION 1.—SOURCES OF INFORMATION EXTANT.

In his *Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, written in 1822, Alexander Stirling complains, "The slender information extant of the proceedings of the Moghul officers from the retirement of Raja Man Sinh in A.D. 1604 to the dewanship of the famous Nawab Jaffer Khan Nasiri (A.D. 1707 to 1725), has to be gleaned from a few scattered notices in Persian histories of Bengal and scarcely intelligible revenue accounts, though the century in question must be regarded as a *most important period* in the annals of the country, when we consider the deep and permanent traces impressed on the state of affairs, by the arrangements, institutions, offices, and official designations, introduced by the imperial government during that interval." (Page 87 of the Government reprint of 1904.)

From Persian works, not indicated by Stirling, it is possible now to fill, though partially, this gap in our knowledge of Orissa during the 17th century, which Stirling rightly calls "a most important period in the annals of the country." Our sources of information are :

- (i) The Memoirs of Jahangir and the official annals of the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, which throw light only on the conquests and changes of officials but not on the administration or the condition of the people.
- (ii) The *Muraqat-i-Hussan*, or Letters of Maulana Abul Hasan, who served the *subahdars* of Orissa as Secretary for about 12 years (1655—1667), and put this collection

together in 1080 A.H. (1669—1670). Only one manuscript of this work is known to exist, which belongs to the library of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur in Rohilkhand, to whose enlightened courtesy I am indebted for the opportunity of taking a copy of the more important portions of it.

- (iii) Letters addressed by Aurangzib to Murshid Quli Khan when *diwan* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, about 1700—1705, included in imperial secretary Inayetullah Khan's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, of which there are only two extant manuscripts, namely one belonging to the Nawab of Rampur and the other to the Khuda Bakhsh collection of Bankipore.

By means of these sources the middle and close of the century are brightly lit up for the historian, but the other portions of it will remain dark till some other happy discovery among Persian manuscripts.

SECTION 2.—LIST OF MUGHAL SUBAHDARS.

Baqar Khan Najam Sani, 4th February 1628-1632.

The order removing him from Orissa was dated 24th June 1632, but he reached the imperial court on return on 13th January 1633.

Mutaqad Khan (Mirza Maki), 1632-1641.

The order removing him from Orissa was issued on 9th March 1640, but he reached the imperial court on 29th July 1641.

Shah Nawaz Khan, 1641-1642.

Appointed to Orissa on 9th March 1640, but went there about the middle of 1641, removed by order dated 8th March 1642, but continued in the province till the end of the year.

Muhammad Zaman Tihrani (as agent of Prince Shuja), 1642-1645.

Order of appointment dated 8th March 1642, removal dated 21st November 1645.

Mutaqad Khan, 1645-1648—

Appointed 21st November 1645. Recalled to court in the 22nd year of Shah Jahan's reign (July 1648—June 1649).
Tarbiyat Khan (Shafullah Birlas, vilayet-za) as agent of Prince Shuja, 1655-1656.

Anarchy, 1658-1659.

Ihtisham Khan, November 1659—September 1660.

Khan-i-Dauran, September 1660—May 1667. *

Tarbiyat Khan, June 1667—October 1669.

Safi [or Saif] Khan, October 1669—?

Rashid Khan, ?—March 1676.

Shaista Khan, March 1676—December 1676 (?) .

Nurullah, (as agent of Prince Azam), June 1678 —?

Kamgar Khan, ?—1704.

Murshid Quli Khan, 1704-1725.

SECTION 3.—THE EXPANSION OF THE MUGHAL PROVINCE OF ORISSA.

In the 16th century the independent Rajahs of Orissa were crushed between the upper mill-stone of the Afghans advancing southwards from Bengal and the nether mill-stone of the Qutb Shahi power (of the Golkonda) expanding northwards from the Madras side. Under Akbar the Mughals held only the northern portion of Orissa, while the central portion was ruled by native princes with semi-independent powers, but bearing the title of *monsabdars* in the Mughal peerage. The Qutb Shahis held the southern extremity of the province. In the reign of Shah Jahan the power of Golkonda was broken by the Mughals in 1636 and 1656, and Qutb Shah became a loyal feudatory of the Emperor of Delhi, paying him an annual tribute.

* In *Muraqat*, page 48, Ihtisham Khan says that he has been recently appointed Subahdar of Orissa and would reach Medinipur on 9th Rabi-ul-awwal, year *one* of Aurangzib's reign. This would yield the date 25th November 1658, when Shuja was in possession of all the country between Benares and Orissa, and therefore no officer of Aurangzib could have reached Medinipur. Moreover, Ihtisham Khan was sent to Bengal after the defeat of Shuja in January 1659. I have, therefore, changed the date to 9th Rabi-ul-awwal, year *two* (=14th November 1659). The *Alamgirnamah* says that the Emperor learnt of Khan-i-Dauran's death on 7th December 1667 (page 1067), but on page 1050 he is represented as dead in the preceding June. I have accepted the latter date.

Early in Aurangzib's reign Māluh (or Malud) was the southernmost outpost of Mughal Orissa, and beyond it lay the Qutb-Shahi district of Chicacole, from which the Golkonda tribute "appertaining to the province of Orissa," about Rs. 20,000 a year, was sent to the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa (*Muraqat*, 51, 160).

This result, however, was achieved after much fighting. On 13th Bahman, 12th regnal year, (about the end of January, 1618), Jahangir records in his Memoirs, "At this time it was reported to me that Mukarram Khan, the governor of Orissa, had conquered the country of Khurda, and that the Rajah of that place had fled and gone into Rajmahendra. Between the province of Orissa and Golkonda there are two zamindars, one the Rajah of Khurda and the second the Rajah of Rajmahendra. The province of Khurda has come into the possession of the servants of the Court. After this it is the turn of the country of Rajmahendra. My hope in the grace of Allah is that the feet of my energy may advance further. At this time a petition from Kutb-ul-mulk reached my son Shah Jahan to the effect that as the boundary of his territory had approached that of the King [*i.e.*, the Mughal Emperor], and he owed service to this Court, he hoped an order would be issued to Mukarram Khan not to stretch out his hand, and to acquire possession of his country" (Rogers and Beveridge, i, 433).

In the winter of 1629-30, Baqar Khan, the Governor of Orissa, marched to Khirāpārah, 4 miles from Chattarduar, a very narrow pass on the frontier between the Qutbshahi kingdom and Orissa, and 24 miles from Mahendri, and plundered and laid waste its territory. The approach of the rainy season compelled him to retire without doing anything more. In the autumn of 1630 he set out again, with friendly levies from the zamindars of Khalikot, Kudla and Ala, and on 3rd December arrived in the environs of Mansurgarh, a fort built by a Golkonda officer named Mansur, 8 miles from Khirāpārah. The enemy offered battle in the plain outside the fort, but were routed, and then the commandant of the fort, a Naikwār, capitulated. Baqar Khan returned,

after leaving garrisons at Khirāpārah and Mansurgarh (Hamid-uddin's *Padishahnamah*, I.A., 333). The Qutbshahis assembled in force to recover the fort, but Baqar Khan on hearing of it made a forced march and defeated the Deccan army. The news of this second victory reached the Emperor on the 23rd April 1631 (*Ibid*, 373).

SECTION 4.—BAQAR KHAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

Complaints against Baqar Khan's oppression of the peasantry and zamindars repeatedly reached Shah Jahan's ears and at last on 24th June 1632 an order was issued removing him from the post. It is said that this Governor called all the zamindars of the province together and then threw them into prison to extort revenue. By his order seven hundred of the captives were massacred, and only one escaped and carried the tale to Shah Jahan's Court. This fugitive produced a list (*tumar*, rent-roll) showing that Baqar Khan had collected forty lakhs of rupees from the province. The Khan was in consequence recalled, and ordered to account for the money (*Masir-ul-umara*, iii, 484). His successor Mutaqad Khan ruled the province long and well, and died on 17th October 1651 in extreme old age.

SECTION 5.—INTERREGNUM AND IHTISHAM KHAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

From September 1657, when Shah Jahan fell ill and a war of succession broke out among his sons; to 6th May 1660, when Shuja fled from Dacca and Aurangzib became the sole master of Eastern India, there was anarchy in Orissa. The troops and most of the officers were withdrawn by Prince Shuja for his two advances on Agra and latterly for his prolonged struggle with Mir Jumla in the Rajmahal and Malda Districts. Taking advantage of this state of things, all the Orissa zamindars withheld the revenue, and several of them built forts and looted their neighbourhood, for which they had afterwards to pay a heavy penalty, as we shall see in the section on Khan-i-Dauran's administration. But, by the autumn of the year 1659, Mir Jumla had established himself in Western Bengal in sufficient

strength to enable him to detach from his army Ihtisham Khan to take charge of the governorless province of Orissa. Ihtisham Khan's stay there was too short to enable him to restore orderly government. That arduous task fell to the lot of Khan-i-Dauran, who in April, 1660, was transferred from Allahabad to Orissa and worked there as *subahdar* till his death in May, 1667.

Ihtisham Khan's first acts were to issue a proclamation that the *khutba* should be read in all the mosques of Orissa, in the name of the new Emperor Aurangzib (*Muraqat*, 45), and to send a *parwanah* to all the *mansabdars*, *zamindars*, *chaudhuris*, *kanungoes*, &c., of the province announcing his own appointment as *subahdar* and ordering them to meet him at Narayangarh, whither he would march from Medinipur, the northern frontier of the province, some time after 14th November 1659 (*Ibid*, 47-49).

When, less than a year afterwards, he was replaced by Khan-i-Dauran, and sent to Bengal to serve under Mir Jumla, he tried to carry away with himself as prisoners for default of revenue, the brothers of Rajah Nilkantha Dev, Gopinath, the brother of Bharat Patnayak and chief officer of Rajah Mukund Dev, and the other zamindars of the environs of Katak. As their zamindaris could not be administered nor any rent collected in the absence of these men, the Mughal faujdar of Katak secured the release of Gopinath Patnayak by himself signing a bond for Rs. 14,000 to Ihtisham Khan. And the other captives were similarly released. For this the faujdar was severely censured by Khan-i-Dauran, who insisted that they should be unconditionally delivered up to him as Ihtisham Khan's successor in office (*Muraqat*, 183-184, 156-157).

SECTION 6.—MUGHAL RECONQUEST OF ORISSA UNDER KHAN-I-DAURAN, 1660-1663.

The first part of Khan-i-Dauran's viceroyalty was devoted to a task that was practically equivalent to the reconquest of Orissa for the Mughal Government, as Imperial authority had disappeared from the province during the late War of Succession.

The state of anarchy is very graphically described in the letters of this subahdar: "All the zamindars are refractory, owing to the slack rule of my predecessors" (page 134). The "zamindars on the further side of the Katjhuri, in the jurisdiction of Sayid Sher Khan, have refused tribute and declared war against him" (page 59). "Krishna Bhanj, of Hariharpur, the leading zamindar of this province, during the interregnum spread his power over the country from Medinipur to Bhadrak, a distance of 50 or 60 *kos*, seizing the property of the inhabitants and wayfarers and severely oppressing the people" (pages 72 and 107). "The fort of Machhara or Bachhara (?) was wrested from Shuja's men by Lakshmi Narayan Bhanj, the Rajah of Keonjhar, during the time of disorder" (pages 52, 58, 129). "For the last three years, the zamindars on the further side of Katak have been collecting vast forces and getting ready for war" (page 72). "Bahadur the zamindar of Hijli is in rebellion" (page 130). "Chhut Rai has dispersed the ryots of Medinipur, and is building a fort in the jungles with evil intentions" (page 190). It is useless to give a list of the names of the other rebel zamindars here, as they will be mentioned in detail in the history of Khan-i-Dauran's campaigns which follows.

The *farman* appointing Khan-i-Dauran to Orissa was sent from the Imperial Court on 3rd April, 1660 (*Alamgirnamah*, 474). He received it at Allahabad, where he was subahdar, and soon set out for his new province "in the very height of the monsoons, defying raging storms, excessive mud, and flooded rivers, which had closed the paths" (*Muraqat*, 85). On 26th September he entered Medinipur, the first town after crossing the Orissa frontier (page 130). After spending some days here to settle the district, organise the civil administration and revenue collection and station faujdars in all directions, he set out for Jaleshwar, in the meantime writing to the zamindars of northern Orissa to meet him on the way and pay their respects as loyal subjects (page 134). His intention was to "finish the Hijli business" first. Bahadur, the zamindar of that port, had rebelled, and had to be subdued before

the Mughal route from Medinipur *via* Narayangarh and Jaleshwar to Baleshwar could be rendered safe. But "the other zamindars report that the country of Hijli is now covered with mud and water, and, not to speak of cavalry, even foot soldiers cannot traverse it. After a time, when the roads of the district became dry again, the campaign should be opened" (pages 132 and 134). So, Khan-i-Dauran put off the idea, and went direct to Jaleshwar, which he reached in the latter half of October [1] (page 156).

At the news of the Governor's approach, both Bahadur and Krishna Bhanj, the Rajah of Hariharpur (*i.e.*, Mayurbhanj), wrote to him professing submission and promising to wait on him at Jaleshwar (pages 133, 136 and 181). The Mughal faujdar of Remuna, on the Mayurbhanj frontier, wrote to the new Governor that the agents (*wakils*) of these two zamindars had reached him to arrange for their masters' interviews. He was ordered in reply to reassure them with kindness and send them back to their masters that they might come without fear or suspicion and see Khan-i-Dauran at Jaleshwar (page 181).

SECTION 7.—HARIHARPUR (MAYURBHANJ) AFFAIRS.

Bahadur evidently changed his mind and held off; Krishna Bhanj [2] came, but met with a terrible fate, which is best described in the Governor's own words: "When I reached Jaleshwar, which is near his zamindari, Krishna Bhanj saw me after wasting a month on the pretext of choosing a lucky day[for the visit], and offered false excuses [for his late disloyal conduct]. During the inquiry and discussion for settling the amount of the revenue to be paid by him, he, inspired by pride in the largeness of his force, drew his dagger and rushed towards me. His companions,

[1] On page 156 we read that he expected to reach Jaleshwar on 19th October but on page 137 we have a letter written by him on the 24th from the bank of the river of Jaleshwar.

[2] His offences are thus summed up: "He kept one thousand horses and ten or twelve thousand foot soldiers, and was obeyed and helped by all the zamindars of this country. [During the anarchy] he had plundered the tract from Bha drak to Medinipur, carried off the ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions" (page 107).

too, unsheathed their swords and made repeated charges. The grace of the Emperor saved my life. We slew Krishna Bhanj and many of his men. The rest fled. Some chiefs, such as Udand, the zamindar of Narsinghpur, Chhattreshwar Dhol, the zamindar of Ghatsila, and Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri, threw away their weapons and delivered themselves up as prisoners" (pages 72 and 107-109).

"The relatives of the slain Rajah [of Mayurbhanj] raised disturbances, molesting the ryots. So, I started for Hariharpur to punish them and halted at Remuna on the frontier of his dominion. His brother, Jay Bhanj, submitted, begged pardon, and brought to me his mother and son and three elephants and some money as a present (*peeshkash*), and begged the *tika* of the Rajahship and zamindari for the son. I agreed, and then started to punish the rebels near Katak" (page 109).

SECTION S.—KHURDA RAJ AFFAIRS.

When the Khan reached Katak, Rajah Mukund Dev of Khurda, "the leading zamindar of this country, whose orders are obeyed by the other zamindars",—"whom all the other zamindars of this country worship like a god [³] and disobedience of whose order they regard as a great sin" (pages 77 and 102),—waited on him with due humility, accompanied by the other zamindars and Khandaits [of Central Orissa] (page 110). Then, "owing to the badness of the climate, a severe malady seized the governor and he was confined to bed for two months, unable to move about." "The rustics [*i.e.*, uncultivated local zamindars] seized the opportunity and caused disorder. Rajah Mukund Dev absented himself from the force sent by me to punish the rebels, and himself caused lawlessness. The Mughal troops subdued many of the rebels and took several forts. After recovering a little I (*i.e.*, Khan-i-Dauran) on 7th February 1661 set out from Katak against the other forts which

[³] Cf. Stirling: "The title of sovereignty has been always acknowledged, by the general voice and feeling of the country, to rest in the Rajahs of Khurda. Down to the present moment the Rajahs of Khurda are the sole fountain of honour in this district" (86).

my subordinates were too weak to capture" (page 77). "On 16th February I arrived near the forts of Kālupārah, Mutri, Karkahi, Khurdiā and [three] others,—seven forts close to each other on the side of a high hill. An assault was ordered next day. When our troops appeared near the forts, the enemy in a numberless host consisting of *paiks* and infantry, both *Khudshān* (?) and zamindars of Bānki and Ranpur, and other *Bhumiahs* and *Khandaits*,—offered battle. Our men slew many of them and carried their trenches at the foot of the hill and after repeated charges entered their [main ?] lines. The enemy fought with matchlocks, arrows, *khāndaḥs*, *sablīs*, *duārs*, *dhukans*, *sintis*, etc., but being unable to resist fled away with their families. A great victory—unequalled by that of any former *subahdar*—was won. The seven forts were captured. Two or three days were spent in settling the conquered district and appointing *thanahs*" (pages 99-101).

"On 20th February, 1661, I left for the conquest of Khurda, the ancestral home of Mukund Dev, situated in the midst of a dense jungle and lofty hills (page 78). On the 23rd, I encamped a mile from Khurda. The Rajah had fled from it, and we seized a vast amount of booty and many prisoners at his capital" (page 102). "During the last 50 years, no other *subahdar* had reached these places. They were all conquered by my army ! and the rustics became the food of the pitiless sword. I gave Mukund Dev's throne to his younger brother Bhunarbāl" (page 78). [Stirling spells the name as *Bhowerber*]. The victorious *subahdar* halted at Khurda for some days. The fate of the premier Rajah of the province struck a salutary terror in the hearts of the other evil-doers. "All lawless men are now waiting on me with every mark of abject submission. The zamindar of Bānki and Khand Narendra (the zamindar of Ranpur) have sent trusty agents to arrange for their interview with me. The path for collecting the revenue has been opened in all places and mahals. Rajah Mukund Dev, who had been ill-advised enough to defy my authority and withhold tribute, finding no way of escape from our heroes, saw me penitently on 18th March.

The rebel Bharat [Patnayak], too, has done the same" (pages 158-159). Mukund Dev was afterwards restored to his throne, as we know from other sources.

An interesting bit of the history of the Khurda Rajahs is furnished in a letter of Khan-i-Dauran to his agent at the Imperial Court. "Received your letter reporting that a counterfeit Gangadhar has gone to the Court and secured an interview with Kumar Ram Singh [Kachhwa, son of Mirza Rajah Jay Singh] through the mediation of Rai Brindabandas, the *musharraḥ* of the elephant department, and offered to pay every year 12 lakhs of rupees as tribute if the State is given to him. When I arrived in this province, Mukund Dev was the Rajah of Khurda. As he caused disturbances, I expelled him from his zamindari and gave the *tika* of Rajahship to his younger brother and reported the case to the Emperor. I have learnt the following facts from trustworthy men :—when the late Mutaqad [⁴] Khan was *subahdar*, he slew Narsingh Dev and made his nephew Gangadhar Rajah. Balabhadra Dev, the elder brother of the slain, became Rajah after killing Gangadhar with the help of the officers of the State. When he died, Mukund Dev succeeded at the age of four years only. During the administration of Muhammad Haiat, the agent of Shuja, a pretended Gangadhar appeared and created a disturbance. He was slain by a confederacy of the zamindars near Katak. After my arrival in the province, another man claiming to be the same (Rajah) appeared in Tilmāl (in South Orissa). Muhammad Jan, the faujdar of that district, arrested him and sent him to me, and he is still confined in the fort of Mānkhāndi at Katak. They say another man assuming the same name is roving in the jungles" (pages 186-187).

SECTION 9.—MORE CONQUESTS BY KHAN-I-DAURAN.

On 5th March 1661, the *subahdar* left Katak to chastise Lakshmi Narayan Bhanj, the Rajah of Keonjhar, who had wrested the fort of Machhara or Bachhara from Shuja's men

[⁴] The Persian Ms. reads *Mutamad*, a mistake.

(pages 58-59). His territory was ravaged and the fort in question recovered (pages 52 and 129).

At a subsequent date (probably), Bahadur, the rebel zamindar of Hijli, was captured with his family (page 116).

After Khan-i-Dauran had expelled Mukund Dev from Khurda, "Khand Narendra, the zamindar of Ranpur and the zamindars of Malhipārah and Dūnpārah, who had never before waited on any *subahdar*," saw him and agreed to pay tribute (page 103). "The zamindars on the further side of the Katjhuri, who had withheld tribute and fought the faujdar, Saiyid Sher Khan, were defeated" (page 59).

At the same time the Mughal faujdar of Mālūh, on the southern frontier of Orissa, was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of Pitām, the zamindar of Andhiāri, and Kumar Guru, the zamindar of Mālūh (page 158).

The zamindari of Kanika was conquered by Mian Muhammad Jan, and the Rajah was driven out to a fort named Rika ? ریکا on an island in the ocean. In order to besiege him there *chhāmp* boats of the river Mahanadi and larger boats too were sent to Muhammad Jan, with the help of Gopali, the zamindar of Kujang (pages 167 and 168).

Rāo Tarā [or Rāwat Rāi],[⁵] the zamindar of Kuyilu Madhupur, was thrown into prison for heavy arrears of revenue to the imperial exchequer for the parganah of Awlās. Gopali of Kujang also suffered the same fate (pages 170 and 172).

Khwajah Khalid Naqshbandi laid siege to the fort of Kulrah and carried mines under its walls. Then Sri Chandan [or Harichandan ?], the *qiladar*, begged quarter. He was promised his life, but thrown into prison and the fort was taken possession of. So also was another fort named Katkal (page 176).

Chhut Rai, the zamindar of Kailikot کیلے کوت [⁶] evidently in the neighbourhood of Narayangarh, had dispersed the ryots of (the parganāh of) Medinipur and built a fort in the jungle with

[⁵] On page 172 the name is spelt as باراوترا (*Bar-avatar*?).

[⁶] I am doubtful about this locality. Page 160 seems to imply that it was in the extreme south of Orissa.

evil intentions (page 190). But his sons were thrown into prison, and he seems to have submitted, for we read in another letter how a *parwanah* was sent to him to stop the horse-dealers who used to deviate from the Imperial road and take their horses by way of Bānpur. They were to be sent to the provincial governor in future (page 160).

Rajah Nilkantha Dev was a loyal servant of the empire and fought under the Mughal banners with his contingent (page 143). Pargana Qutbshahi was his *jagir*, which he administered through his agent Gajādhar. Rs. 4,400 were due from the Rajah as arrears of revenue (pages 145 and 165). His brothers were placed in confinement by Ihtisham Khan for default, but Khan-i-Dauran secured their release (page 156).

The result of these operations was the restoration of Imperial authority in Orissa. The country again enjoyed peace and order and the Imperial revenue, which had entirely dried up during the interregnum, began to be realized again. Khan-i-Dauran could legitimately boast of his military successes, which in his own words were "unrivalled by any preceding *subahdār*." As he wrote in his despatches to the Emperor Aurangzib, "I have punished all the usurpers, oppressors, and lawless men of the province and made them obedient. The revenue is being collected by our officers. The people are enjoying peace and happiness and plying their trades" (page 49). And, again, a year later, about April, 1662, he wrote, "The province is being well administered" (page 54).

IV.—Tasapaikera Charter of Ranaka Rana Bhanja Deva.

By B. C. Mazumdar, M.R.A.S.

GENERAL REMARKS.

I. This copper-plate charter was found buried at Binkā, which is a sub-divisional town in the State of Sonpur, about fifteen years ago, when the father of the present Feudatory Chief was the ruler of the State. The late Raja Bahadur P. R. Singh Deo kept this record in the custody of his tahsildār and very soon forgot all about it. When the present Feudatory Chief Maharaja B. M. Singh Deo made over this old record to me, the seal was found broken at the top to the left and it could not be stated by the tahsildār if he got it exactly in this condition. The head of the bull (which is the Nandin of Mahādeva) has gone off but the figure of the animal is quite distinct on the seal above the legend Rānaka Sri Rana Bhanja Devasya. Referring to the other plates of the Bhanjas, previously discovered and edited by me (*e.g.*, E. I., xi, page 98), it can be safely inferred that there was a crescent symbol of Mahādeva engraved over the bull. This charter consists of three copper-plates of which the first plate alone bears an inscription on the inner side only. The plates are rather irregularly shaped, but their average height and breadth may be put down as 5" and 7" respectively. The ring, which is $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness and is about 3" in diameter and passes through the holes cut at the left margins of the plates, contains the oval seal of the grantor at the top. It appears that the ends of the ring were joined together by being soldered with lead and copper.

II. This charter is so similar, almost in every respect to the charter of Satrubhanjadeva edited by me in E. I.,

XI, page 98, that a few remarks regarding that similarity seem called for. If we leave out the names of the donors, the donees and such other things in respect of which one charter is bound to differ from another, it will be found that both the charters contain almost the same text word for word. Judging by the fact that the spelling mistakes as well as the faulty grammatical construction of the sentences are common assets of both the records, and considering the fact that the blunders committed in one record in quoting very familiar imprecatory verses have been repeated in the other, I am strongly inclined to think that the clerks who were considered experts in the matter of conveyancing had no knowledge of Sanskrit and only used from memory, for the forms of grants and leases, such sentences as had been correctly composed previously. Even though the text is hopelessly corrupt, I give here the purport of some sentences in English by suggesting two or three emendations of the text, so that in the event of the discovery in future of a better record of this class some one may get some help in the reconstruction of the text. In the light of the text of the charter of Satrubhanjadeva just referred to above, I suggest that in the second line of the first plate, *Gahanāndhakāra* and *Surāsura* may be substituted for *Bhin-nāndhakāra* and *Suramahā*, respectively. Though these emendations do not make the sentence "Samhār.....Prapātuḥ" (lines 1-3) grammatically correct and intelligible, the purport appears clearly to be:—May the dreadful (Tad-Bhairavam) the dreadful person of *Hara* (Hara-vapuh), or rather may Hara or *Mahādeva* in his aspect as *Bhairava*, protect you all, which (*i.e.*, *vapuh*) is blazing with the dreadful and gaping fire of the time of *Samhār* or destruction, and which dispels the thick pervading darkness through the agency of its (or his) servant the *Kṛtānta* or *Yama*, the lord of Death, etc., etc. Looking at the arrangement of the words in the above sentence which is the first sentence of the whole text, and examining the last portion of the sentence namely, *Tād bhairavam Hara-vapur bhava tak prapātu*, I have been led to think that the sentence is a debris of a metrical composition of four lines in the *vasanta-tilaka* metre.

III. Let me note here all the words and portions of sentences which are new in this record and are not met with in the Satrubhanja grant published in E. I., XI, at page 98. (a) In the fifth line of the first plate there are some letters which look like Rudravayōtra bhuva but I suspect them to be *Rudrā Yathā bhuvan*, for in that case the sentence becomes intelligible. The meaning of the whole sentence from Pratāpa in line 4 to Sankhyā in line 5 will in that case be—As there appeared Rudras many in number, so were in Bhanja kings many thousand in number. (b) In Plate II, line 3, we meet with the name of the goddess STAMBHESVARI and this fact should be duly noted. This seems to support my theory that it was at Khimidi (Khindini of this plate) that the STAMBHESVARI of the aboriginal tribes was first taken into the Hindu pantheon (*vide* my paper on the subject in *J.A.S. (Bengal) N.S.*, Volume VII, pages 443-447. (c) When I edited the Satrubhanja grant some years ago the four letters next following the words *Tāthāco-ktam dharma sāstresu*, could not be deciphered by me; but now in the light of this record those letters appear to be *Phala-kliptām* (Plate II, page 2, lines 5-6). (d) In lines 7 and 8 (*ibid*) we meet with this new line—*Veda-vākya smāyājihvā vadanti risi [r] devatah* which means that the Risis and the Devatās sing with their tongues full of astonishment at the appreciation of the words of the Vedas. (e) The line beginning with *Yathāpsu* (*ibid*, line 8) and ending with *Visarpati* (*ibid*, line 9) is quite a new line in the imprecatory verses of our epigraphic literature. It means that as the drops of water of the god Sakra and the drops of oil fall on the earth, so will, etc. (f) The verse beginning with *Lāuhā-churna* and ending with *Jārayisyte* (Plate III, lines 10-11) is also to be noted as new. Its meaning is,—It is possible for a man to digest (or assimilate) the dust of iron and gold but it is never possible for a man to digest a property which is given to a Brahman. (g) Again in the light of the present record it has become clear that the word *mahārājaki* in the last line of the last plate of the Satrubhanja record should be *Mahārājakiya* and that the suggestion I made previously in E. I.,

Volume XI, that it was a Hindi word must be considered a mistake.

IV. It is important to note that though the donor calls himself the son or *Atmaja* (Plate I, line 7) of Satrubhanja-deva, he puts the word RANAKA before his name without assuming the title Mahārājā or Rājā. This shows the grantor was not a ruler of the then Khindini kingdom, but was merely a governor of the portion of the territory of which Bod was the headquarters town. From the fact that the seal of the charter bears the name of the grantor and not of his father, we may infer that his father was not then alive and Ranabhanja did not acknowledge the supremacy of the heir of his father, who was on the *gadi* at Khimidi. It has been recorded in this charter that Siva-ganā Pāndi's son engrossed the text on the plates. This very man we find to be the engraver of the inscriptions of the charter of Satrubhanja-deva published in E. I., XI, page 98. The engraver, who is of the Vanik class and is a goldsmith, has the surname Pāndi (Plate III, page 2, line 4). I must note here that in many families of the Oriya Sonārs or goldsmiths of the Sambalpur tract this surname, Pandi, is still in vogue. It is curious that the donor in dating the record does not mention it as to whose *Pijayarayya* the *sixteenth year* of the record belongs. Very likely the grantor set up his independence surreptitiously and had not the audacity to publish dates of his own reign. It is stated that this charter was issued on the "*sixth day*" but it is not stated whether this sixth day is the sixth day from a full-moon or a new-moon or whether the sixth day of the week is meant here. It is rather suprising that the month has not been noted on the record. While engraving the word *Sadivasē* on the plate the curved stroke of the letter 'd' to the left was not brought out and the word consequently looks like *Saddivasē*.

V. I have already said that the charter was unearthed at Binkā ; but it is to be noted that the village to which it relates was not situated on that bank of the river Mahānadi, on which the town Binkā is. The Mahānadi flows right through the State of Sonpur ; the portion of the State lying to the right

side is called the Daksina-Tira, and the town Binkā is in that Ilākā being situated just on the right bank of the river. The village Tāsapaikerā, which was gifted, was in the Uttara-Tira Ilākā, as is clear from what has been recorded in the Charter (Plate II, page 1, line 8). The word *Utra* in the text is a wrong spelling for the word *Uttara*. It appears that the river flowed past the village Tāsapaikerā, for it has been stated that the waves or vichi (wrongly spelt as viji in the text) of the river washed the land of the village (Plate II, page 1, line 9). We find that the donee's family came originally from a village called Nirola, and that he was living in the village Kāmāri when the gift was made. There is no mention, however, as to where the village Nirola was ; all we know is that the village was a Brāhman settlement, for the word Bhata qualifies Nirola. There are many villages in the Sonpur State having the ending Kerā or Kelā and the name Tāmpar Kerā is a familiar village name in the tract, but neither Tāsapaikerā nor Tāmpakerā is found within some reasonable distance from the bank of the Mahānadi. There are two or three villages bearing the name Kāmāri in the district of Sambalpur and the State of Sonpur ; but they are too far away to be identified with the Kāmāri of this record.

VI. The donor Rānaka Ranabhan jadeva describes himself as Baudhapati (Plate II, page 1, line 7), but declares that the whole territory was under the sway of the ruler who established his rule by uniting both the states of Khimidi or Khindini (Plate II, page 1, line 4). Like the other Bhanja rulers, the donor alludes to the mythical origin of the family from a pea-hen by putting in the words Andaja-Vamsa (Plate II, page 1, line 1). The donee is the Brāhman Sridhara (Plate II, page 1, line 13), son of Bapula and grandson of Balabhadra (Plate II, page 2, line 1) and is described to be of the *Bhārad-vāja Gotra* of *Angirasa-Bārhaspatya* (mis-spelt as *Barisytta* or *Barispatya* in the text) *Pravara* ; and he is also said to be a student of the Madhyāndina (wrongly spelt as Madhyanna) branch of the Yajurveda.

VII. I hope to publish another copper-plate grant of a later Bhanja ruler of Baud in the next number of this Journal. I have good reasons to believe, that in the light of the facts which will be disclosed by that copper-plate grant and with the help of the genealogical table of the present rulers of Baud, I shall be able to fix the approximate time of the present undated charter, as well as of the other charters of the different branches of the Bhanjas of Khimidi and Baud.

TEXT.

First Plate (Inner side).

1. (Symbol of Om) ओ खस्त्रि सङ्कारकाल हुतसुग्विकराल घोर सम्भान्त
किङ्क
2. र कृतान्त भिन्न भिन्नान्वका [र] सुर महा गहनात्यन्त तद् भैरवं हर
3. वपु भवतः प्रपातुः दुर्ब्बार वारण्य प्रतिपच्च लक्ष्मो ह
4. ठ ग्रहण्य सुप्रहृत प्रतापा भञ्ज नराधिपतयो वज्रवो वभूवु
5. रुद्र रयोच्च भुव (?) भुरि सहस्र संख्याः तेषान् कुल सकल भुवन
6. पाल मौलिमालार्चितां त्रि युगलो वलवान् वृषोभूत् श्री ।
7. शत्रुभञ्ज इत्यतुलघीः । तस्यात्मज स्वयम्भुवन अन्यो
8. न्य मदमान मिलित समुद्धत वृषचक्र चतुरङ्गवल
9. धवलित धरामण्डल गजतुरग खुर निर्हारण्य प्रसरदतुल
10. धूलि वितान संच्छन्न जयाङ्गण्य गजस्कन्ध वेदिका स्वयम्बरायात
11. परिणीत जयलक्ष्मो समानन्दित पौरजन मनसः श्रीमङ्गज
12. भूपतिः पुरादपति पुरन्मन शरदमल धवलकर यशःपट
13. ल धवलित दिग्दगो अनवरत प्रवृत्ता सम्मान दानानन्दि

Second Plate (First Side).

1. त खवलजना अण्डज वंश प्रभवः परम वैष्णव मातापितृपा
2. दासु ध्यात भञ्जामल कुलतिलक उभय खिण्डिग्या-
धिपति सम
3. धिगत पञ्चमहाशब्दः महा सामन्त बन्धित स्तम्भे प्रवरी लब्धवर .
4. पसाद राणाक श्रीरामभञ्जदेवः कुण्डलि इहैव खिण्डिग्या मण्ड
5. ले भविष्यदाज राजन कान्तरङ्ग कुमार मान्य महासामन्त ब्राह्म
6. ण प्रधाना धन्यांश्च दण्डपाधिक चाट भट बल्लभ जातीया
7. न् यथाहं मानयति बौधपति समदिशयति चान्यत् स
8. ऋतः शिवमसाकम् विदितमस्तु भवतां उत्तपल्लि प्रतिबद्धः
9. महानदी विमल जल विनि प्रचालित टासपङ्ककेरा ग्राम
10. चतुः सोमा पर्यन्त निधि उपनिधि सहितं मातापित्रात्मजस्यपुण्या
11. भि बृहये सलिल धारा पुरः सरेण विधिना भारद्वाज गोल आ
12. झिरस वारिस्यत्य प्रवराय यजुर्वेद मध्यान्न शाखा-
ध्याङ्ग भट
13. निरोल विनिगत कामारि वास्तव्य भट पुत्र श्री श्रीधर
श्रीवा

१ त अकले दोका अल दल प्ररुः पमरं पुवमाना पठ पा
 २ या कुर्वा त रुद्रामल कुल हिले क उ रुय विरुत्या विप हिसम
 ३ विरुद्र पयन दल पुमा दा साम नू व हिरु सुम्भु री लू रू र
 ४ पुमा द गी ल क डी ल रुद्र द व क ल ०० हे र विरु ली म ल
 ५ ले रुद्रि सा यो दा द क का क र क कुमा मा कुम दा साम नू वा द
 ६ ० पु व ली सु व्या भू र ल पा ल क सा म रु द व ल रु द नी या
 ७ नू यि सा दि मा न य दि दौ व य दि स मा द १ य त्रि सा कु द ग म
 ८ रू रः सि र म स्था के र दि र म सु रु व ग ० ५ ५ प लि प्र क ति
 ९ व धः भा द न दि दि म ल द ल दि दि प्र ञा ली न ध स प ० क ग ग म
 १० व डः सी मा प य नू नि व ५ प नि वी स दि नं मा न पि न म रु १ पु ल्या
 ११ रु रु द य स लि ले ध गः पु १ः म रै ल वि वा द र हा द बा द आ
 १२ दि नं स र ग पि आ य प्र व ग य य रु र द म व कु णा वी ० न रु द
 १३ वि ग ल दि कि ग न क मा नि वा स व रु द य पु क श्री श्री व र श्री वा

१५

Plate 11. (1st side)

पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ विविविपककसविपय ॥ १ ॥
 स्रक्तपतिपायिनीयः ॥ यामययकुलोक्ततागल ॥ यवदुसाहुववकु
 कयवाकुलाका ॥ ३ ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ स्रक्तपतिपायिनीयः ॥ ३ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ ४ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ ५ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ ६ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ ७ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ ८ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ ९ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ १० ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ ११ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ १२ ॥
 पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ पुनरुक्तं ॥ १३ ॥

Plate II. (2nd. Side)



Second Plate (Reverse Side).

1. पुल सुतः श्रीवलभद्र नम्रे विधि विधानेन सविषय ताम्रशा
2. खने प्रतिप्रदितोयं पारंपर्यं कुलावतारेण यव वेदाहं वचने
3. न यस्य काण्डात् काण्डात् प्ररोहति शासनेन प्रतिवासि सहस्रं न विरो
4. हसि अवबुद्धा पराहर्षा पक्षो वंशावतारेण अस्मदगुरोर्धाहर्षे गौ
5. रवाच नकेनचि [त्] स्वल्पापि वाधा करणीया । तथाचोत्कं धर्मे.
शास्त्रे यु फ
6. ल क्षिप्तां महोद्दया सवित्रं शस्य मेदिनि । यावत् सूर्य्यकृतालो
7. क तावत् स्वर्गे महियते । वेदवाक्यस्यथा जिज्ञा वदन्ति रिषि
8. देवताः । भूमिहर्ता तथान्यच्च अहो मा हर मा हर यथापसु
9. प्रतितं शक्र तैल विन्दु विसर्पति एवं भूमि कृतं दानं शस्ये शस्ये प्र
10. रोहति । आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णु ब्रह्मा सोम हुताशनः । शुलपाणिस्तु
भ
11. गवां अभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदं । आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः पुवल्गयन्ति पि
12. तामहाः भूमिदाता कुत्रे जाता समेचाता भविष्यति । बहुभिर्वसु
13. धादत्ता राजाण्यैः सगरादिभिः । मातृदत्तल शङ्कापि परदत्ते

Third Plate (First Side).

1. सु पालिता । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । खदत्तां
2. परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसन्धरां स विष्ठायां कमिर्भुत्वा पितृभिः
3. सह पच्यते । हिरण्यमेकं गामेकां भूमिमप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं । हरन्नर
4. क मायाति यावदाभूति संज्ञवं । भूमिं य प्रतिगृह्णति यश्च भू
5. मिं प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ पुण्य कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गं गामिनोहि
6. रते द्धारयते भूमि मन्दबुद्धि स्तमोवृतः । स [व] द्वौ वारुणैः
7. पाशै स्तिर्यक् योनिषु जायते । मा पाथिवः कदाचित् ब्रह्म
8. स्व मनसापिदं । अनौषधमभेषज्यं पतत् हलाहलविषं । अविषं
9. विषमित्याहु ब्रह्मस्वं विष उच्यते । विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्व पु
10. त्र पौत्रकं । लोहचूर्णं सुवर्णं च जरयेन्नरः । ब्रह्मस्वं त्रिषु लोकेषु
11. कः पुमान् जारयिष्यते । वानपेथ सहस्राणि अश्वमेध शतानि च । ग
12. वां कोटि प्रदानेन भूमि हर्ता न शुच्यति । इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दु लोलां

2

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176

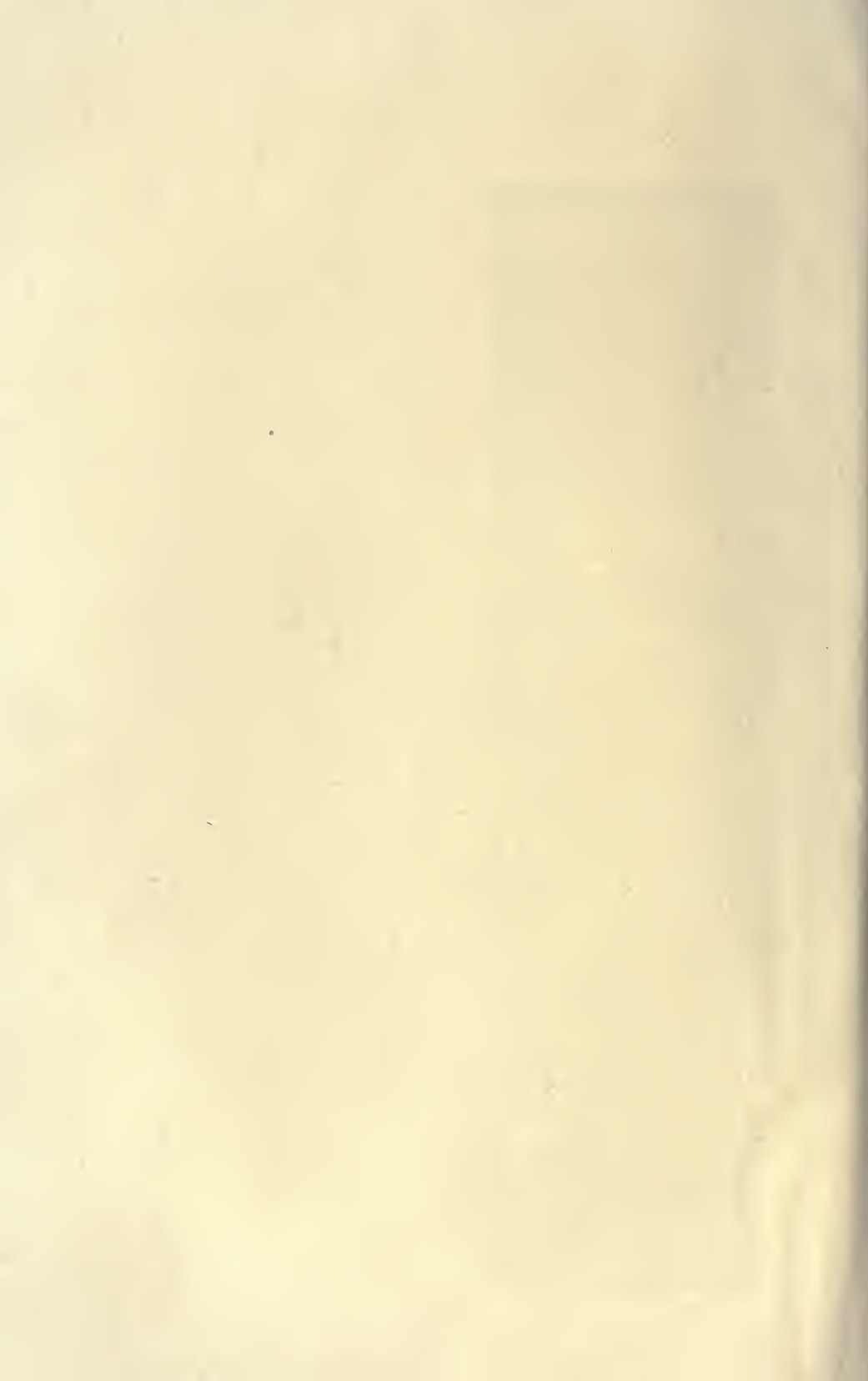
1 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 2 परमहंसोऽयं भगवान्महाबाहो ॥ २ ॥
 3 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 4 कर्मणा हि पादयोः सुखं प्रपन्नं ॥ ४ ॥
 5 भिक्षुपुत्रोऽयं भगवान्महाबाहो ॥ ५ ॥
 6 न ते ह्यनयते सुमित्रवत्पुत्रं ॥ ६ ॥
 7 पाशोऽन्येऽपि पुत्रं यत्नं ॥ ७ ॥
 8 स्वमयं जायते आकाशे वमते ॥ ८ ॥
 9 विष्णुमित्रादुत्पन्नं विष्णुमित्रं ॥ ९ ॥
 10 कः पुत्रोऽयं भगवान्महाबाहो ॥ १० ॥
 11 राघोऽयं भगवान्महाबाहो ॥ ११ ॥

Plate III. (1st side)



ॐ दम्भकुम्भिन्नाय कृष्णक्षीरं कृष्णसकलमिन्दुनयनं कृष्ण
 २. वं कर्त्तुं पुनः पराकृत्योर्विषयान् विदयन्नाम स
 ३. त्वादाय विष्णुं वरुणं कुम्भं वरुणं कसुरं ककारं सिद्धं
 ४. पाणिपुनः कृष्णं दक्षिणं मन्त्रं विष्णुं ॥

Plate III (Outer Side)



Third Plate (Outer Side).

1. श्रियमशुचिन्त्य मशुध्य जिवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च वु
2. ह्व । नहि पुरुषैः परकिर्त्तयो विलोप्याः विजय राज्ये समम्बत्स
3. रे षोडशाब्दे षड्विंशसे उत्क्रौणं सुवर्णकार शिवगणा
4. पाण्डिसुत महाराजकिय सुद्रेण्ति ।

V.—KALIDASA.

III.—Chronology of his Works and his Learning.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

The young poet, Kālidāsa, had to serve his apprenticeship in a beautiful country full of hills, dales, plains and small rivers. As a Brāhman he held himself aloof from war and diplomacy, except so far as they form a part of the literature of the country. What is he to write? Youth is beautiful and nature is beautiful. The description of natural objects would be the most suitable subject for a novice in poetry. Kālidāsa passed his novitiate in writing the *Rtusamhāra*. He was indeed induced to write on the seasons, because he found all round the country he inhabited, descriptions of seasons almost in every inscription. He thought perhaps it would be doing a service to his country, if he could describe all the seasons together. So he undertook to write the *Rtusamhāra*. The language is not yet polished. It is still full of repetitions, faults of grammar, faults of style and crudity of expressions. Thomson in his "Seasons" is full of historical allusions and he is always trying to reproduce scenes of ancient days in different seasons. But Kālidāsa never thinks of history in his work on seasons. He delineates what he sees. He begins with the summer because in Northern India the astronomers always began their year with the vernal equinox ushering in the hot season. His power of observation though poetic and keen has not yet been fully developed. He does not go deep either in describing the beauties of nature or the beauties of womanhood. But his fancy is very active. He sees beauty where others see nothing. The first shower of heavy rain carries away worms, grass and dust and Kālidāsa watches the motion with a poet's eye. The rills go

meandering and he watches its serpent-like shape which frightens the frogs. One thing is certain. The one great peculiarity of Kālidāsa's early poetry is that he admires nature more ardently than the fair sex.

He reads the traditions of his country, he receives a finished education, and he devotes himself to the stage. His next work is a patriotic drama. Vidisā is a part of Malwa and the history of Vidisā forms the subject of his first histrionic work. The horizon of his travels does not go much beyond the Avantis or modern Malwa. He reproduces the history of Agnimitra and gives the heroine the name of Mālavikā. Since the fall of the Pradyot family of Ujjain and the absorption of all the Avantis into the Magadha Empire the constitution of Vidisā into a kingdom under the suzerainty of the great Brāhman Agnimitra fires the imagination of the young poet and he writes a drama that would delight the people of Malwa. Indeed the fall of the Buddhist Empire of Asoka and the rise of the Brāhman Empires appear to be good themes for young poets. In this poem too, Kālidāsa always prefers Nature's beauty to that of the fair sex. He often indulges in such expressions as "the motion of young shoots of flower-trees leaves the dancing girls far behind." The horizon of his travels expands and he goes beyond the boundary of Malwa in his *Meghadūta*. He commences from a point beyond the eastern boundries of Malwa, goes round it, entering it in the east touching various places of interest and goes far beyond it in the north. His love is still sensual, his admiration of Nature still ardent, but his language much more polished and his style much more attractive.

A change comes over the spirit of his poetry. He goes deep into the nature of things and human passions, and human sufferings interest him not. He goes to the Vedas for his heroes and picks up divine or semi-divine beings for the theme of his poetry, and produces his second drama the *Vikramorvasi* on the stage. The scenes are changed from earth to heaven as the celestial predominated over the terrestrial. But his love is still a passion and his admiration of nature no less ardent.

Another change comes over the spirit of his poetry. The Vedas please him not. They are too dry and too unsympathetic and he must leave them. He seeks solace in devotion and his religion becomes Saiva. Now he determines to glorify his deity in a becoming fashion. He has already mastered all that is on earth and in the air and must launch into ideas celestial. He begins with the Himalayas where he ended in his *Meghadūta*. The scene changes to the heaven of Indra from that to the higher heaven of Brahma and from that to the higher heaven of Siva. He atones for devoting long years of youth in the description of ardent and passionate love for the female sex by reducing Kāma the embodiment of passions into ashes. Henceforth his love is an absolutely divine sentiment and no passion.

Pārvaṭi wants to be united to Siva, not a union of the flesh but a union of the spirit. Such an idea of lofty and spiritual love is unknown in the literature of any country and it is by such a union that Kālidāsa wanted to sing the glory of his God.

Kālidāsa first exercised his poetic mind in writing on things human and then on things divine. The first was not much elevating. Its moral aim was at best doubtful. The second was too high for ordinary humanity to understand and act upon. So in his old age he tried to blend the divine with the human and produced two of his poems—one a drama and the other an epic—which have extorted the admiration of the whole world. His drama, the *Sakuntala* is a happy blending of the divine with the human. *Sakuntala* is half celestial and half human. As a human being left under the care of a human sage her love was ardent and passionate. But as soon as she was carried to the celestial world she became quite a different being with a much loftier idea of love and union with the object of her love. In *Kumarasambhava* and in *Sakuntala*, Kālidāsa's conception of the beauty of the fair sex changed greatly. In the *Kumarasambhava*, Madan failed to attract Mahādeva and he took shelter behind Pārvaṭi. That is terrestrial beauty falling far short of the divine sentiment. In *Sakuntala* too she is carried to a far higher region where the beauties of the Earth cannot reach her.

But his last and greatest work is the *Raghuvamśā* in which he describes the descent of the Godhead himself on Earth. Here Kālidāsa was strong enough to measure his sword with the divine poet Vālmikī. But he left him far behind. Vālmikī's Rama, though divine, is a mere portrait without a background. Kālidāsa gave him that background, but that is not all. Kālidāsa's conception of God as the Creator and moral Governor of the world is much higher than that of Vālmikī. God means to human imagination the absolute perfection of all the higher human faculties in a thoroughly cultured man and he makes his Rama the embodiment of all the perfections that human mind could conceive. But in the background he keeps his ancestors and his successors who represent not all but one or two qualities in perfection. Dilipa represents the perfection of obedience, Raghu of prowess, Aja of love, Dasaratha of kingly virtues and these usher in Rama, embodying the perfection of all the virtues represented in his ancestors.

This is the order in which Kālidāsa's works were written, and this order shows the gradual development of his mind. From the fanciful appreciation of nature he rose by steps, well-marked and well-defined to the highest conception of Godhead and the highest conception of the relation in which man stands to his Creator.

I think it would be convenient to deal at this place with the question whether all the seven books attributed to Kālidāsa are really the works of one and the same man. There is no doubt that the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava* are both written by one poet, for there are some verses common to both and only a bit improved in the later work. It is also true that the *Sakuntala* is also written by the same author who wrote the two epics, for there are sentiments which are briefly expressed in one but elaborated in the other. One instance will suffice. The bees being attracted by the fragrance of Pārvatī's breath is elaborated in a scene in the first Act of *Sakuntala*. The same is true of the *Meghadūta* in which we find the character of the Yaksas (given in brief in the *Kumārasambhava*) fully and thoroughly elaborated

In the *Vikramōrvasi*, too, the ideas elaborated in the 4th Act are to be found in a nascent condition in the *Meghadūta* and even in the *Kumārasambhava*. But scholars differ in their opinion as to the genuineness of *Rtusamhāra* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*. An opinion was long held that *Mālavikāgnimitra* was an imitation of Kālidāsa's work and there was some show of reason in the fact that in the prologue the poem is described as a new one but careful reading of the dramas of Kālidāsa has revealed the fact that they are all by one and the same person. It is a part of Kālidāsa's dramatic art that he introduces the female character in the very beginning and shows her beauty in three different positions. In the *Sakuntalā* the heroine is first shown in the posture of watering the plants, then in the posture of loosening the tightness of her garment and then in the posture of surprise and dismay when the bee attacks her. In the *Vikramōrvasi* Urvasi is introduced to the audience in a state of swoon. That is one posture. She was returning to her senses. That is the second posture. Then she expresses her interest in her saviour by a third posture. Kālidāsa is careful not to make the thing tedious by introducing many postures. He thought that these would be quite enough and he seems to be absolutely in the right. This is exactly what he has done also in *Mālavikāgnimitra*. *Mālavikā* is introduced to the audience as dancing. That is the first position. She stands still after a fatiguing dance which forms the second position. The jester's crude attempt at witticisms makes her smile by displaying her fine set of teeth over the deep red lips. This is the third position. It is scarcely possible for a later poet of India to enter so deeply into the Art of Kālidāsa so as to successfully imitate him in thus displaying the beauties of his female characters.

What these critics call imitations are really the expressions of an apprentice poet which in later age he polished and beautified. As regards the *Rtusamhāra* there are many points which are common with the rest of his poems. In *Rtusamhāra* the apprentice poet was confined to the scenes and surroundings of only one district in India. But in his later works in the description of

seasons the horizon of his observation was much enlarged. But wherever a common thing is described the germ is to be found in the *Rtusamhāra* and the developed ideas in the later works. One thing appears to be very striking in all these works, the fondness of Kālidāsa for the seasons in the description of which he excels in his later works.

In *Meghadūta* he describes the rainy season, in *Sakuntalā* the summer, in *Vikramōrvasi* the winter, again, in *Kumārasambhava* the untimely spring, in *Malavikāgnimitra* the spring in a royal garden and in *Raghuvamśa* almost all the seasons. He describes the summer in the 16th, the rains in the 12th, the autumn in the 4th and the spring in the 9th canto. But the germs of all these magnificent descriptions are to be found in the *Rtusamhāra*. There cannot be the least shadow of a doubt that all the seven poems are by the same great poet and it is a matter of congratulation that with a careful and deep study of his works the number of those who held that all the books were not by one man is diminishing rapidly.

His Learning and Education.

Bhavabhūti second only to Kālidāsa in art poetry in India is very fond of displaying his learning. In the prologue of one of his dramas he actually gives a catalogue of the *sāstras* studied by him and in all through his works he is full of expressions taken from the Vedas, the *Upaniśads* and the philosophical works. But Kālidāsa is very modest. He never displays his learning. He seems to delight in concealing the fact that he was a very learned man. As I have said before he is so successful in concealing his learning that Indian people think that he was ignorant even of spelling and of pronunciation.

But his learning to a close observer appears to be phenomenal. He seems to have read all sorts of works with a poet's eye and no book or no science was beneath his dignity as a poet. In the whole range of Indian literature before his time or of his own time, there was little that he did not study and little from which he did not draw his inspiration. It is

redundant to say that he knew the Vedas. He drew from the Vedas his inspiration for the drama entitled *Vikramōrvashi*. The story is taken directly from the Vedas. In the *Sakuntala* the benediction uttered on *Sakuntala* by Kāśyapa is given in one of the metres peculiar to the Rig Veda. His hymns to Brahma in *Kumarasambhava* and to Visnu in *Raghuvamsa* breathe the spirit of those Upanisads like the Katha which superimpose a monistic ideal on the ancient Sāṅkhya doctrine.

The story of Mālavikāgnimitra shows his thorough appreciation of Indian history at a critical moment of the Brāhmanic faith. The history is so accurate both in its political and social aspects that European scholars drew much valuable information from it for the re-construction of Indian history. His knowledge of the *Kamasāstra* was very deep indeed. The principal *Sutras* of the *Bhāryyadhikarana* are embodied in his advice to Sakuntalā how to behave at her husband's palace. His knowledge of Economics or the *Arthasāstra* is to be gathered from the 17th canto of *Raghuvamsa* in which the administration of king Atithi is given in great detail. That he knew the *Gajasastra* is apparent from his description of the Anga country in the 6th canto of *Raghuvamsa* where the authors of that Sastra are mentioned with appreciation and respect. He knew the fact that the *Gajasastra* was composed and promulgated in the Anga country. It is needless to dwell upon his acquaintance with the Purāṇas from which he takes his themes for so many of his works. The *Rāmāyana* he knew so thoroughly that he was eminently successful in compressing almost the entire work of Vālmiki in one canto of *Raghuvamsa*, i.e., the 12th. In geography of the world as then known to the Hindus he is absolutely accurate not only to the political and physical geography of the country but the distributions of races, plants, wild animals, fruits and flowers. He knew *Dhanurvedyā*, that is the art of war. He knew *Ayur-Veda* in all its different branches not excluding even the rearing up of children. He knew works on hunting in which he displays such expert knowledge both in *Sakuntalā* and in *Raghuvamsa*. His knowledge of Sanskrit grammar was deep and

extensive, as he takes up similes from grammatical technicalities. He knew the Yoga sastra without a thorough knowledge of which he could not have described so powerfully the meditation of Siva in the 3rd canto of Kumārasambhava. He knew the poets that preceded him. He mentions Bhāsa by name and to him he is indebted for many happy expressions and sentiments. We do not know Saumilya and Kaviputra so we cannot gauge his indebtedness to these poets. He knew Asvaghosa's Saundara-nanda, some of the finest sentiments of which he has borrowed, improved, elaborated and perfected. The same is true of Asvaghosa's Buddha Charita; the same is true of Hala's Saptasati and of the Mrchhakatika. He knew the works of Dramaturgy like Bharata-Nātyashastra thoroughly, for he deviates so little in his dramas, from the rules laid down in it.

His knowledge of Astronomy, Astrology and Horoscopy, the three shoulders or (Skandas) of Astronomy of the Hindus with precision. It is a well-known fact that the Hindus got their Horoscopy from the Greeks. They had very little of Horoscopy before their contact with the Greeks. The Yavanācharyya translated his work on Horoscopy from Greek to Sanskrit in the 91st year of an era most likely the Saka era because it was adopted by astronomers of all classes. In the 191st year of the same era Sphujidhvaja rendered Yavanācharyya's work into 4,000 verses in the *Indravajra* metre. Minaraja elaborated the same work into 8,000 verses. These three works form the basis of Horoscopy of the Hindus, and if the era mentioned be the Saka era, Sphujidhvaja's work, a copy of which exists in the Durbar Library, Nepal, would be written about the year 269 A.D. and Minaraja's work later still. In his Horoscopy, Kālidāsa follows these authors whom he studied thoroughly. He was fully aware of the Greek influence on Hindu Astronomy for he uses Greek technical terms. He was aware of the theory promulgated by Aryabhatta that the moon's rays are only a reflection of the Sun's rays from the watery surface of the moon.

His knowledge of Hindu Law is seen in the division or partition of the empire of Rama, in which the eldest of the eight

brothers, Kusa, gets the best jewels belonging to the family. The declaration of Dusyanta in *Sakuntalā* that the sea-faring merchant's property should go to the unborn child, if any one of his numerous wives be in the family way, shows Kālidāsa's knowledge of the Hindu Law of inheritance and his book is replete with expressions borrowed from law-books. His knowledge of rituals was extensive. The marriage ceremonies of Aja, Siva and Agnimitra are given in detail. As an educationist, Kālidāsa shines with great lustre. The little king Sudarsana sitting on his ancestral throne and writing the numerals on a slate is a charming picture. From the lowest schools, Kālidāsa rises to the Asrams of Risis in which all the sciences of his time were taught. It is a curious fact that though his acquaintance with Buddhist literature is considerable, he never mentions Buddha or Buddhists in any one of his books, nor their literature, nor their monasticism. Arya Kausiki in the *Mālāvikā* is taken by some to be a Buddhist nun, but from her speeches she appears more a Saiva than a Buddhist. Kālidāsa is altogether silent about Jainas. His sole object in writing his books was the glorification of Brāhmanism. In the *Mālāvikāgnimitra* he describes the queen Dhārini making a monthly grant to the Brāhmins teaching sciences to pupils, thus showing a distinct preference to Brāhmanism as opposed to the Buddhism of Asoka. He speaks of Naiṣṭhika Brahmachāris, *viz.*, those who remain students all their lives but never speaks of Bhiksus or Bhikshunsi. In his latter works he sings the glory of Brāhmanism but he never appears to preach. He simply shows how the influence of the Brāhman tended for the good of the world and how he was anxious to bring out the sacred character of the Brāhman and the cow, the reverence to whom is the basis of modern Hinduism. This matter will be taken up in detail while treating of art and artistic skill of Kālidāsa.

There is not the least shadow of a doubt that Kālidāsa was a Brāhman. In the age in which he lived the Vedas were regarded as an unalterable sacred text known only to the Brāhmins and unless he was a Brāhman he could not write a verse in a metre peculiar to the Rig Veda. But to what class of Brāh-

mans did he belong? Ask any Brāhman in the modern days and he will say that he belonged either to Pancha Gaur or Panhea Dravid but these are geographical distributions and this distribution is not very old. The oldest book in which this distribution is mentioned is the Vyasa Purāna imbedded in the Vallāla Charita which, I believe, is contemporary with Vallāla Sen in the twelfth century. That book may embody a tradition some centuries older but it is doubtful whether Kālidāsa knew anything of this distribution; but there was an older distribution. The modern distribution is by countries but the more ancient distribution is by cities and districts. Pokaran, an ancient city which gave its name to a distribution of Brāhmins called Puskarana Brāhmins. Sīmāl was an ancient city which gave its name to Sīmāl Brāhmins. Anandanagar gave its name to Nagar Brāhmins. When Brāhmins of different gotras lived in a city they formed a matrimonial group called a "Nyat", in Sanskrit "Jnāti". But this word is not used in the legal sense meaning the descendants of a common ancestor. Different Nyats also form matrimonial relations among their neighbours in the same city or in the same district. The Nyat system still prevails in the states of Rajputana. The city of Dāsapura has given its name to a distribution of Brāhmins, namely, Dussorā Brāhmins, very clever, very intelligent but rather crafty and selfish. Dussorā Brāhmins have a peculiar history of their own. They are to be found within hundred miles from Dāsapura but never in Dāsapura itself. A Dussorā Brāhman now-a-days never enters Dāsapura and never drinks the water of the river Sioni which flows close by. It is said that they were defending their city against a Muhammadan invasion. On a festive day, when they were making merry, the Muhammadans entered and butchered them. From that time they vowed not to enter the city nor to take the water of the river. Kālidāsa seems to have belonged to this class of Brāhmins, but it may be said, why the modern Dussorā Brāhmins have no tradition about Kālidāsa being one of them? The Srīmalī Brāhmins cherished for a long time the memory of the great poet, Māgha, and they

still know that he was one of them. That is not the case with Kālidāsa and Dussorā Brāhmans. The reason is that the Dussorās living away from their traditional home lost their old memories, still when I asked the Jaina monk Pānnā Lāl about the birth-place of Kālidāsa he told me that he was born on the borders of Chittore and Mandāsore, when asked for authority he said he has read it in the *Bhojaprabandha*. But the printed copy of *Bhojaprabandha* does not say anything about his birth-place and an enquiry should be made for copies of *Bhojaprabandha* or other books of Jaina tradition which may reveal the name of the poet's birth-place. The *Bhojaprabandha*, however, represents Kālidāsa as a fashionable man who liked to enjoy the good things of the world. If the *Bhojaprabandha* gives us a version of the old tradition, for Kālidāsa certainly belonged centuries before Bhoja, there we have got some ideal of his personality and his habits however inaccurate and unhistorical. The work, *Bhojaprabandha*, is not worth much for there we find modern method of rewarding poets by Lāk Pasas or gift of a lakh of rupees much in fashion. So far as can be gathered, the Rajputs have borrowed this system from the Muhammadans, the early Amirs of whom were fond of making gift of lakhs of rupees. Kutabuddin, the first emperor of Delhi, had the surname of Lākhdāni.

VI.—Santal Legends.

By Rev. A. Campbell, D.D.

The Origin of certain Festivals.

The legends of the Santāls published in the last number of this Journal had reference more particularly to the alleged origin and migrations of the Santāls. The following is one of the accounts given of the institution of certain festivals. It is said that while residing in the forts mentioned on page 23 of the last number the population greatly increased and there was at that time no festival observed in the country. The Kiskūs who occupied the Kōendā fort raised an umbrella on a high pole and instituted the Chhātā pōrōb, or the Umbrella festival, with much pomp and ceremony. The Mārñḍi young men and maidens learning what was being enacted in the Kōendā fort set out with drums and flutes to take part in the festivities. On arriving at the river which flowed between them and the Kōendā fort they found it in flood and were unable to cross over. (At this point the following is sung by the narrator.)

The Gāng river is full,
The Sōrā river overflows.
Return, return, oh parrot!
On whose account shall I return?
My heart is with my comrade,
My breath is in my companion.

As they could not ford the river they returned home and said among themselves, "We went to see the sights, but found the river in flood, now what festival should we inaugurate?" So the young men assembled in the village street with their drum. They ordered the drummer to beat his drum, which he did, but

no sound issued therefrom. Then the following distich issued involuntarily from the mouth of one of those present:—

“Sālō Mānjhi, Sālō Mānjhi, what like a man is he?

Sālō Mānjhi, Sālō Mānjhi, a tall young fellow he.”

The following lines are also said to have been sung for the first time then:—

“Down the street the drum beats,

The heart does not respond,

Up the street there's pleasure great.”

They decided to institute the Karam festival, and cutting a branch of the Karam tree, (*Adina cordifolia*, H. F. & B.) they fixed it upright in the ground and danced round it all night. In the morning they pulled up the branch and carried it down to the river to throw it in. Growing in a garden on the river bank was a Mirū Bāhā, or Parokeet flower, (*Abutilon Indicum*, Don.), and the hair of the youth in charge of the garden was 12 cubits long. A hair of this length was fixed in one of the Mirū flowers and both were enclosed in a Karam leaf twisted into the shape of a cone and committed to the stream. Lower down a number of maidens of the Kiskū sept were bathing in the river when they saw something coming floating towards them. When it had been secured it was found to contain a Mirū flower with hair passed through it. This hair was measured by the inquisitive girls and found to be 12 cubits long. The bathers having satisfied their curiosity and completed their ablutions returned to their respective homes. One of them, the daughter of the king, went and shut herself up in her apartment. Her mother thinking she was ill went to see her, and pressed her to take some food, but she refused saying, “I will neither eat nor speak.” On being further questioned by the anxious mother she replied, “If you can bring to me the youth with the 12 cubits long hair I will eat and drink.” The mother willing to do anything to meet the whim of her daughter said, “We will find the youth for you.” It so happened that a begging Yōgi was there at the time and he was commissioned to make enquiries as to where the man with the long hair resided. After some time

he received information regarding him, that he lived in the Bādoli fort. The sulking girl was told that he had been found in the Bādoli fort, and food was again brought to her, but she pushed it away saying, "Unless you bring me a token from him I will not eat." There was in the house a tame *parrakeet* and it was ordered to go to the Bādoli fort and bring a token for its young mistress. The *parrakeet* undertook the commission and two small parcels of food were prepared for its use and one tied to each of its wings. It then flew straight to the Bādoli fort and found the object of its search in his garden drying his hair, as he had just bathed. On the *parrakeet* going near, it was driven away under the impression that its object was to destroy the flowers. Watching its chance the *parrakeet* was at length able to snip off a hair from the young man's head which it carried triumphantly to its home. The girl's sister-in-law took the precious hair and shewed it to her, and when it had been measured and found to be 12 cubits, she said "Now, I am convinced that the hair is his and that you have found him." Her spirits now revived and she partook of food.

The begging Yōgi was engaged as go-between to arrange a marriage. He went to the Mārṇḍis and told his errand, but they demurred saying, "They are Kings, how can we intermarry with them?" The begging Yōgi, however, persisted and at last they agreed to the marriage and a date was selected for its celebration. The begging Yōgi returned with the welcome intelligence that he had succeeded in negotiating the marriage and the ceremony of interviewing the bridegroom elect was arranged for. On the day fixed the party set out and on arriving questioned some villagers as to where the young man was to be found. They replied that as he was to be inspected to-day he had left his garden and was in the house. They entered and found him sitting on a stool with his long hair hanging over his shoulders and busily engaged in spinning a straw rope. One leg up to the knee was buried in straw and on the thigh of the other he was twisting a rope. On seeing him the Kiskū men said "The bridegroom is all right." He, while he continued spinning

his rope, said, "Look at the rope and at the heap of straw." The words he used were capable of two interpretations and the Kiskū men said, "What does he say? We do not comprehend his meaning. However, we have seen the bridegroom and he is all right." They then enquired if he was pleased with the marriage proposal and he answered in the affirmative. The visitors were then invited to enter the house and the usual civilities were shewn to them. Their feet were washed, tooth brushes were given to them, oil to anoint themselves with, was supplied, and they went to bathe. Having bathed they returned, and water was given them in which to wash the hands. They were then ushered into an apartment where mats were spread for them to sit on and curds, parched rice and raw sugar were set before them. Having partaken of this light refreshment they were conducted to a cowshed where seated on straw they chewed tobacco and lime. After some time a goat was produced and presented to the visitors, who accepted it and said, "Come sirs, let us gather pot-herbs." A kâpi or battle axe was lent them and with it they cut off the goat's head with one blow. The flesh they cooked and dined off it and rice. This over, they addressed themselves to the business of the day. The bridegroom elect came carrying a vessel of water which he set before the Kiskū men and saluted them. He was accompanied by another person who brought a pot of rice beer which he also presented to them and having done so saluted them. The liquor was soon disposed of, after which the Mārñdi youth seated himself on the knees of one of the party and a *dhuti* cloth was bound turban-wise round his head. The ceremony of espousal was thus completed to the satisfaction of all. A feast followed and then the time came for the Kiskū men to return home. All the company assembled in the courtyard and the bridegroom elect saluted each in turn.

Then following the custom usually observed on such occasions one of the Mārñdi men said, "You have selected this article (of earthenware) out of twelve kilns full, you tapped and sounded it before choosing. If it should turn out faulty or defective, the

responsibility will rest with yourselves." The Kiskūs replied, "Yes, Sirs, we have selected this article out of twelve kilns, and if it should be found faulty or defective or should meet with injury in the future we cannot refuse to take the article. It is ours." The Mārṇḍis then said, "Take the property with you." To which they replied, "Allow it to remain here for a few days."

The Mārṇḍis returned to Kōendā fort and the parents of the girl questioned them as to the appearance of the bridegroom. They replied that physically he was all that could be desired. To the question as to how they had been treated by the Kiskū people they replied that nothing was wanting in regard to the respect with which they were received and the hospitality with which they were entertained.

After a considerable interval the begging Yōgi was sent by the Mārṇḍis to the Kiskūs to request them to name the day for the marriage. The Kiskūs resented the interference of the Mārṇḍis in the matter saying, that it was the privilege of the bride to select a day for the marriage ceremony. When their preparations were complete the Kiskūs called the begging Yōgi and told him to tie seven knots on a string and take it to the Mārṇḍis. The seven knots represented days and the Mārṇḍis were thus informed that the marriage would take place in seven days. With this they were very well pleased.

When the time came the Mārṇḍis set out for Kōendā fort with a large and imposing marriage party. On arriving at the entrance to the street of the village they began to beat their drums and to dance. The Kiskūs on being apprised of their arrival went to meet them taking along with them a supply of drinking water which was gratefully accepted by the bridegroom and his company. After some little delay the party was conducted into the village and at each house they came to, the bridegroom was given a little gūr or raw sugar to eat. At last they stood before the entrance to the bride's residence where the bridegroom was again treated to raw sugar. The bride being anxious to see the man of her choice at the earliest

possible moment peered out of a small window opening and was horrified to find that he was afflicted with elephantiasis in one foot. The shock was so great that she refused to be consoled, although her girl companions did what they could to comfort her in the circumstances.

The ceremonies preliminary to the marriage were begun. Oil and turmeric were produced and the Kiskū maidens, whose office it was, prepared to anoint the bridegroom with oil. They spread a mat on the ground and the begging Yōgi brought the bridegroom and seated him thereon. The upper part of his person was anointed with oil and turmeric, after which he was requested to extend a foot so that it might be dealt with as was customary. This he did, but no entreaty could prevail on him to subject the other foot to the same operation. He said "Let one be sufficient. For one foot so large a quantity of water has been used, where will you get enough for two?" So the girls came to know that he had elephantiasis and they went and told the bride.

"Yes, she replied, and for his sake I refused to eat."

At this time the call came for *sindra dan*, or marking the bride on the forehead with red lead. They said, "Bring out the bride," and to execute the order several of the bridegroom's party went inside. The bride refused to step into the large flat basket which had been prepared for her and in which she should have been lifted shoulder high to receive the red mark on her forehead from the hand of the bridegroom. Her father pleadingly said to her, "Now you are disgracing me in the eyes of our relatives. One day for his sake you refused food, why are you behaving thus to-day?" Her mother scolded her and said, "Why will you not receive the *sindur*?" but she replied not. Her father's patience becoming exhausted he pushed her out of house and forced her into the rude palanquin into which the bridegroom had entered, saying, "We consign this person to your charge." The carriers lifted the palanquin and brought it to the Mārṇḍi fort, but the bride sulked and refused to speak. There were feasting and rejoicing

in Bādoli fort for three days at the end of which the Kiskūs returned to Kōendā fort. The bride wished to return to her father's house in their company, but they objected saying, "Stay where you are, in five or six days we will return for you." She was deaf to all entreaty and followed them home. After ten days the Mārndi bridegroom came for his bride and was regally entertained three days. When he expressed his intention to return home, his mother-in-law said, "Yes, you shall go tomorrow." Clothes were washed and the bride informed that the next day she would be required to accompany her husband.

When the bridegroom and his companions were ready to leave, the girl was called, but she refused to quit her room. She was then forcibly brought out and her father addressing the bridegroom said, "She belongs to you, take her away." When he asked her to come with him she turned her head away and sulked. Her mother then said, "Take her with you. If she will not go, drag her, or employ any other means which may seem best to you." The bridegroom having received permission seized her and dragged her off. She caught at every branch and bush on the way, and he lopped them off one after the other with his kâpi or battle axe. After they had proceeded a considerable distance in this manner, and his arm having become wearied, in attempting to cut off a branch which she had clutched he missed his stroke and chopped off one of her fingers. He bitterly lamented the mishap, and fearing the vengeance of her brothers when it became known, he cut her down with his kâpi, and then cut his own throat with the same weapon.

2.—*The manner in which the Santāls were taught music and to dance.*

In the beginning the Santāls worshipped no deities, and did not know the use of musical instruments, and could not dance. Two of their number, one belonging to the Tūḍū sept and the other to the Besrā, set out on an exploring expedition and penetrated deeply into the heart of the great forest. Towards evening they heard the sound of music and not knowing what

it was they went to see from whence it proceeded. On nearing the place they became afraid, and in order to see over the brushwood they climbed up into a tree, and beheld Mōrēko, Jāher-erā, Mārāng Būrū and Gōsaē-erā dancing. Suddenly one of the dancers stood still and said, "There are human beings near, I smell them." Jāher-erā said, "Whether you smell men or beasts, do them no harm, but bring them here." The two adventurers danced with the bōngās all night learning both to play and dance. In the morning they were given two drums and dismissed with the following injunction, "Go and tell your people all about us. Tell them to venerate and respect us and annually to offer sacrifices to us. You must also instruct them to play music and to dance, and we order you to teach the people of twelve villages every night." This, it is said, they accomplished, and in this manner the Santāls learned the use of musical instruments and the art of dancing.

3.—*Legend of the vulture.*

When the Santāls had increased and become families, they were in the habit of laying their infants outside in the courtyards of their houses to sleep. A vulture which had its nest somewhere near by carried off many babies who were lying exposed in the various courtyards of the houses. At length the Santāls were aroused to action. They said, "This vulture if allowed to continue its depredations will in course of time make the country desolate, come let us go and search for it and destroy it." So armed with their bows and arrows they set out, and after traversing many leagues of hill and dale they found the vulture sitting upon her nest on a high Sohōdā (*Bombax Malabaricum*) tree in the Siri forest. The nest was so compactly constructed of materials impenetrable by an arrow that even a chink through which she could be shot was not apparent. On more careful inspection they observed that an ārgom [¹] was built into the nest and it was

[¹] This is an implement drawn by two oxen and used by cultivators to crush clods.

decided to shoot her through the hole into which the shaft had been inserted. Two of the brothers Kārā and Gūjā, the best bowmen of the family, were selected to do the deed. To Kārā, the elder, was given the first opportunity, and so accurate was his aim that his arrow entering by the hole in the ārgom pierced the breast of the vulture as she sat over her young ones in the nest. She flew out but having received a deadly wound fell to the ground with such force as to cause a huge depression in the earth's surface which, filling with water, became a lake.

HAVING rid the country of the vulture they turned their steps homewards hunting as they went. A *Mūrūm* deer (Nilgāi) fell to a well-aimed arrow, and a pole was cut on which the deer was slung to be carried home. On reaching the entrance to the village street they deposited their burden on the ground and sat down to rest. A knife was needed to flay and cut up the carcase and a man was sent to bring one.

The eldest of the seven brothers pulled up some *khāsi* (*Saccharum spontaneum*) grass and sat on it. The second brother pulled several handfuls of *Mārñdi* (*Ischæmum rugosum*) grass to sit on. The third brother was ordered to flay the deer, and the fourth to cut it up. To the next in order of birth was assigned the duty of wrapping pieces of the venison in leaves to roast in ashes. He had just bathed and had laid his wet loincloth (*bhāgwā*) aside and by mistake he folded it up in leaves instead of a piece of venison and placed it in ashes to be baked. When it was thought the meat would be sufficiently cooked it was rescued from the ashes and the charred leaves stripped off when it was seen that it was a *bhāgwā* and not flesh. The others said to him, "What have you done? We told you to wrap venison in leaves and bake it in hot ashes and you have baked your *bhāgwā* instead." He replied, "I laid the *bhāgwā* near the meat and thus made the mistake."

It was at this time that several of the tribal divisions had their origin. The one who sat on the *khāsi* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*, Linn.) became Kiskū. He who sat on the *Mārñdi* grass became Mārñdi. The slayer of the *Mūrūm* (*Portax picta*) deer became Mūrūn Thākūr, and he who shot the vulture Chīl-bindhā

(or vulture-piercer). The one who baked his *bhāgwā* in place of venison became Lāt Tūdū, one who ate *bāskē dākā* or stale rice in the morning was named Bāskē, and he who was sent to bring a knife and fire became Sören.

4.—*Legend of the confusion of tongues.*

In the early day of the world all the dwellers on it regarded themselves as belonging to one family and dwelt at peace among themselves. The god Marāṅ Būrū, for reasons best known to himself, wished to break them up into different castes or tribes, and with that end in view he caused large quantities of certain kinds of food to be prepared and placed on huge leaf-plates, which he caused to be deposited on a large level plain. Having gathered all the males together he pointed out to them the plates of food and ordered them to select whichever they liked best. There was an immediate rush in the direction indicated by Marāṅ Būrū and the first to arrive chose the plate of beef, and seizing it bore it off in triumph to the jungle. The next in order to arrive chose the plate of goat's flesh, the next who came chose the fish, and the last had perforce to take what all the others had rejected, a dish of milk and rice. The first party, strong in wind and limb, and not lacking in intelligence as their choice of the beef amply attested, became Santāls. Those who followed and took the goat's flesh became Mundās and those who took the fish became Bhūiās. The last of all who had to be content with rice and milk were the ancestors of the Brāhmans.

VII.—The Divine Myths of the Mundas.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The few legends that some old Mundās still recount about the mythical adventures of their gods are, like similar legends amongst other savage or barbarous races, characterized by a belief in sorcery and 'shape-shifting' or metamorphosis and generally by a 'confusion of all things in an equality of presumed animation and intelligence.'

I.—Myths regarding the Principal Deities.

The Supreme Deity of the Mundās is known as Singbōngā or the Sun-god, and the being who ranks next to him in the Mundā pantheon is Bārndā sometimes identified with Marāng-būrū or the Great Mountain. Although in religious symbolism the Sun represents Singbōngā who is regarded with religious respect and awe as their only moral and benevolent deity, and some high hill is identified with Bārndā or Marāng-būrū, in the mythical stories about them, they are represented as personal beings—persons in the same state of savagery as the people who invented them. A few of these myths are given below.

1.—*How Singbōngā created Man.*

Singbōngā first fashioned two clay figures, one meant to represent a man and the other a woman. But before he could endow the figures with life, the horse apprehensive of future trouble from them trampled them under its hoofs. In those days the horse had wings and could move about much faster than now. When Singbōngā found that the horse had destroyed his earthen figures of men, he first created a spider and then fashioned

two more clay figures like those destroyed by the horse. He then ordered the spider [¹] to guard the figures against the horse. The spider wove its net round the two clay figures in such a way that the horse could not destroy them again. Then Singbōngā imparted life to the two figures which thus became the first human beings. They were called respectively Lūtkūm Hārām and Lūtkūm Būṛhi. With the inconsistency characteristic of savage myth, the Mundāri legend of the destruction of the Asurs by Singbōngā names Lūtkūm Hārām and Lūtkūm Būṛiā as the old Mundā couple in whose hut Singbōngā had accepted service as a field-labourer in the disguise of a scabby boy. [²]

2.—*Why Singbōngā went to live in the sky.*

Bārndā was the elder of the two brothers, and Singbōngā the younger; and they had also a sister by the name of Nāgē-Erā. The three at first lived together in the same house but subsequently separated. And this is how the separation was brought about. The brothers were great hunters and always carried about with them a fierce hawk, a golden club and a golden basket. One day after they had proceeded some distance from their house with their hawk, they were overtaken on the road by a heavy shower of rain. To protect themselves against the rain, they took shelter under a wide-spreading tamarind tree. In those days tamarind trees had large leaves; but yet this tree could not afford them complete protection. At this the two brothers were highly chagrined and struck at the tamarind leaves till the leaves were split into numerous minute divisions. Thenceforth tamarind leaves have been so small as we see them now.

Singbōngā then ran straight home, but Bārndā sought refuge from the rain in the hut of a Lohār (blacksmith). Now it so happened that a little water dripped down on Bārndā from the

[¹] The Bir-hōrs and the Asurs of Chōṭā Nāgpur substitute the dog for the spider. The dog would bark at the horse and frighten him away whenever he attempted to approach the clay figures.

[²] For the legend of 'Lūtkūm Hārām and Lūtkūm Būṛhi,' vide my book 'The Mundās and Their Country,' Appendix II.

blacksmith's bellows which were suspended from the beam supporting the roof of the hut. Horrified at this pollution with water from the bellows of a man of the impure tribe of Lohārs, Bārndā went home in great perplexity and sought the advice of his brother. Singbōngā thereupon told him, "Brother, since thou hast incurred such a pollution, it will not do for us to live together any longer. Henceforward I shall live in the sky up yonder, and do thou remain here on this earth." Then Singbōngā went to live in the sky above, and Bārndā remained on the earth below. Their sister, Nāgē-Erā, chose the waters for her abode. But although they separated in this manner, they did not, as we shall presently see, give up mutual intercourse.

3.—*The Witch Wife of Singbōngā.*

Singbōngā had two wives of whom the elder bore him a son and the younger a daughter. In spite of Singbōngā's remonstrances, his two wives would frequently brew rice-beer, get drunk and quarrel amongst themselves.

Now, Singbōngā's son was attacked with a severe illness which all medicinal roots he tried failed to cure. At length Singbōngā sent down to the earth his bird-messengers of whom the crow and the sparrow (*lipi*) were the chief—to call the famous medicine-men Nārāngi-Jhūppi and Osāgi Deōnrā otherwise known respectively as Deogan Gura and Mādhō Mantri. These two were such powerful sorcerers that they would yoke tigers to their ploughs with snakes for yoke-straps. It did not take them long to find out that Singbōngā's younger wife was a witch who caused the sickness that afflicted the boy. When the sorcerers declared the result of their divination, Singbōngā sent down his bird-messengers to call Bārndā to him. Bārndā soon arrived, and on being told what had happened, sought to dissuade the younger wife of Singbōngā from dealing in witchcraft any more. But she was deaf to all persuasion and refused to forego the secret knowledge and the devilish powers which she valued more than anything else.

The two medicine-men thereupon carried the witch-wife of Singbōngā with her bundle of charms and medicines to a cave and shut her up in it, not with any lock or chain or bolt, but with the help of their mighty spells (*mantrams*). And there she was left screaming and howling and gnashing her teeth in vain.

After a time as Singbōngā and Bārndā chanced to pass that way on a hunting excursion, the cries of the witch reached their ears. Thereupon Singbōngā said that it was not proper that she should be left there to disturb their peace. Thereupon Bārndā started a Karam Jātrā (dancing meet) of the Mundās there in the hope that some young man might take a fancy to her and take her away. But this stratagem was of no avail, as the sight of her ugly feet with the heels turned forward repelled everybody. Then Bārndā set fire to the rock so that the witch might be burnt to death in the cave; but this plan too failed of its intended effect. At length, a well-to-do young man who had long been trying in vain to get a bride for himself took her home. After they had lived for some time as husband and wife, one evening the young man on his return home from his day's work missed his wife and began to abuse all his neighbours whom he accused of having driven her away. He finally determined to leave home and wander about in search of his wife, and with this view he opened the lid of his bamboo-box (*harkā*) to take out his clothes.

But great was his horror and detestation at finding his wife inside the box! The witch had entered the box in the shape of a cat and could not come out in time. Her husband forthwith took up the box with all its contents and threw it away in a rage.

Now when the crafty Bārndā saw this, he decided to palm her off on some other man. And accordingly he shut her up again with her charms and medicines in the box and carried the box in a tiny carrying-net made of fried *sag*-leaves suspended from a carrying-pole made of a twig of the castor-plant (*Erendi*). Bārndā took her first to Machhindar Biārikhō in parganā Khūkrā,

thence successively to Pandrāpāni, Dumbari, Lōbādā and several other places. Wherever he went with his weird burden, he cried about, "I have brought a beautiful cat which will be given to anyone wanting it." But on opening the lid of the box, people found inside it a cat with flames issuing out of its mouth; and no one therefore would have it. Though Bārndā had been carrying her so long that his shoulders began to bleed from the constant friction of the carrying-pole, and the witch licked the blood with avidity, Bārndā would not give up his mission. But at length when he reached the village of Hūlsū in parganā Sōnpur, the carrying-pole gave way; and Bārndā left the witch, box and all, in the place and went back. In a stream west of the village, the Mundās still point out the spot where the carrying-rod broke down. And the village is still sometimes called "Nājōm-Hūlsū" or "sorcerer Hūlsū", for it is said that the men of Hūlsū took all the medicines in the box and, in consequence, there have since arisen many sorcerers in the village. Two men named respectively Sūsūn Sūlā and Karam Jairi carried the witch first towards the Kārō river and thence to several other places, such as Chāchālā ghāt, Būrbūrū Sāt-dhārā, Gitil Pirāngi, Bingkō Urādu, and finally to Perōāghāg where she was left. It is not known where she is now, though some Mundās maintain that she is still at Perōāghāg.

4.—*The Elder Wife of Singbōngā.*

Singbōngā desired to manufacture an extraordinary plough in which the yoke, beam, *hār* (plough proper), and the handle would be combined all in one piece. He worked hard at it for seven days and seven nights but yet could not finish the self-imposed task. Singbōngā's elder wife insisted on his giving up the attempt, but he would not listen. Thereupon she threw a small piece of fuel-wood (*chailā*) at him; but—lo and behold! the piece of wood (*chailā*) was transformed into a bird which flew away with a noisy flapping of its wings, thereby greatly frightening Singbōngā. So this at length had the desired effect, and Singbōngā desisted from his interminable task.

5.—*The Adventures of Bārndā.*

At a village named Butlāi, there was a powerful spirit (*bhut*) of whom people stood in great dread. The spirit offered great obstructions to agriculture and would particularly strike men who ploughed their fields up to a late hour. At length Bārndā with a view to punish this spirit repaired to this village in the guise of a young man and took service as a *dhāngar* or field-labourer in the house of a cultivator of the village. Even though this *dhāngar* did not work much, the out-turn of his labours would always be unexpectedly great. Thus, even if he scattered a handful of paddy seeds they would cover so much ground that a number of ploughmen could not finish ploughing in a day the field thus sown; and even if he neglected to reap and the rice dropped down on the ground leaving only the bare paddy stalks standing in the field, these paddy-stalks when reaped and threshed would yield a large quantity of rice. Necessarily, therefore, the master of this *dhāngar* grew very rich. Finally, with a view to luring the spirit to a combat, the *dhāngar* took to ploughing up to a late hour day after day. And at length the spirit appeared before him and attempted to strike at him. But Bārndā fought him until he was worsted, and chased him up to the bank of a tank, severely flogging him all the way with a bamboo club. When the spirit plunged into the tank the *dhāngar* by way of a perpetual threat planted the bamboo club on the edge of the tank. And forthwith the bamboo clump became a living bamboo and soon grew into a large clump. Since then this particular spirit has not given trouble to the village any more.

After he had accomplished his mission, the *dhāngar* quietly left the village. At first nobody suspected who he was. But a queer circumstance opened the eyes of the villagers to his identity. On the day that he left the village the only daughter of his late master fell severely ill. Ghost-finders were called in and they discovered by their occult art that it was Bārndā who had 'possessed' the girl and caused her sickness. The proper sacrifice of a black cow to Bārndā was accordingly prescribed

and offered. But in spite of this, the girl's condition grew worse and worse until finally she died.

On the day that the girl died, a female acquaintance of the family was coming from another village towards village Butlāi to sell baskets, and on her way met the girl (who was not known to her to have died) walking behind the late *dhāngar* of the family who was leading a black cow. When the basket-seller came to the house of the deceased girl and asked her mother if any baskets were wanted, the bereaved woman said, "Alas! what shall I do with baskets? My only daughter is dead." The basket-seller was not a little surprised at this news and exclaimed, "What do you mean? Only a short while ago I met your daughter on the road accompanying your *dhāngar* who was leading a black cow." The news soon spread in the village, and there was no doubt left in the minds of the villagers that the quondam *dhāngar* was Bārdā himself.

6.—*The compassionate offices of Nāgē-Erā.*

Once upon a time, Singbōngā rained down fire whereby the earth was devastated. The Keond (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) tree was only partially burnt, and thus although blackened, it did not die. Since then the colour of the Keond tree has become blackish. All human beings were destroyed, except that Singbōngā's sister Nāgē-Erā managed to conceal two persons, brother and sister to each other, in a spring which was her own seat. Now that all men were gone, Singbōngā was in great straits. As no offerings were any longer made to him, his tanks of milk, curds (*dahi*), and blood began all to dry up. His wife upbraided him for his indiscretion, saying, "I warned you then, but you heeded me not. And so we suffer for your folly". Singbōngā now despatched his bird-messengers to the earth to see if perchance any human being might have survived. The sparrow, the woodpecker and other messengers searched about all over the earth in vain. At length the crow, who was Singbōngā's steward, came upon a leaf-cup near a spring, and inferred the existence of some human beings in the vicinity. So the bird sat down on the branches of a tree and

soon found out that two persons lived with Nāgē-Erā. He then told her that he had been sent to take to Singbōngā the two persons that were with her. Nāgē-Erā refused to give them up and said, "Singbōngā destroys men. Who knows whether he will not destroy these, too?" The crow went back and reported this to his master. Thereupon Singbōngā had to come down to Nāgē-Erā's place to induce her to part with her protégés.

After much persuasion she agreed to give them up on Singbōngā promising that he would not destroy mankind again and that Nāgē-Erā would thenceforth have a share of the human race. Singbōngā assigned to her sister's share of mankind all persons who might have leprous sores or marks on their bodies. This satisfied Nāgē-Erā. Indeed, so easily is Nāgē-Erā satisfied, that while Bārdā requires an ox or a cow to propitiate him, and Singbōngā requires sacrifices of white goats or white fowls, their sister is content to have even so little as the wing of a fowl as an offering to her. Though the legend given above would seem to suggest that the tender-hearted Nāgē-Erā is ever bent on offices of pity, we should betray an utter ignorance of savage mentality if we looked for consistency in his myths which, as Mr. Andrew Lang puts it, "uprise from a mood of playful and erratic fancy". To swell the number of her people, Nāgē-Erā, so the Mundās assert, sometimes sprinkles water on persons who go to pools, tanks and springs for bathing or other purposes, and before long such persons are affected with leprous sores or marks. It may be mentioned, however, that cases either of leprosy or of leucoderma are rather infrequent amongst the Mundās.

Such are some of the myths that have gathered around the three principal figures of the Mundā pantheon. These three are regarded as deities, self-existent and not created.

II.—Miscellaneous Myths and Superstitions regarding the Minor Spirits.

1.—*Minor Bōngās.*

As for the rest, the innumerable minor spiritual or super-physical beings of Mundā demonology, these are either regarded

as spirits of departed men and women or vague impersonal spirits, about whom no elaborate myths appear to have ever been invented. Thus, all that the Mundā knows about his mischievous departmental spirits denominated variously as 'Būrū Bōngās', 'Gārā Bōngās', 'Ikir Bōngās', 'Hōrā Bōngās', and so forth, is that they are the spirits of the Asur women whom Singbōngā in the shape of a scabby boy flung respectively on rocks, or into rivers or in marshes and springs or on the roads or in other directions, after their husbands had been tricked into death in a burning furnace by him.

2 — *Sāt-māris.*

The spirits of persons who died by drowning,—and, according to some Mundās, the spirits, too, of fœtuses that died in the womb—are believed to haunt pools of water in which they disport in the shape of fishes. These spirits cause sickness to people by pushing at them while they enter the pools for washing, bathing or other purposes. Such spirits are called Boṛā-dā or Eṛā-dā or Sāt-māri.

3.—*Bāghouts.*

The spirits of persons devoured by tigers are known as Bāghōuts or Bāghiās, and are believed to haunt the spots where they were killed. A Bāghiā is believed to move about in the air from bush to bush at night humming a tune or piping a reed-flute. The sudden rustle of a wood is believed to be the sound of a Bāghiā. A Mundā on seeing an ox, cow, goat or sheep returning home from the woods with its tail torn by having been caught in a thicket, will suspect that a Bāghiā tethered the animal to some tree with its tail. A Bāghiā is believed to possess the same powers as an actual tiger. Nay more, it is believed that the tigers of the forest obey the behests of these Bāghiās; the Mundās say that tigers are to Bāghiās what dogs are to a hunter. When a man is seized by a tiger, it is said that a Bāghōut first attacked the man and stupefied him and then a real tiger seized the nonplussed

victim. These Bāghouts, which are spirits, should not be cofounded with the were-tigers known as Ulaṭh-bāghās, a belief in which is prevalent throughout the Mundā country. It is believed that some men possess the power of transforming themselves into tigers at will and in that shape satisfy their greed for human flesh and human blood, or, failing that, kill some buffalo or other animal whose flesh is coveted. To acquire this power a man has, after a day's fasting, and propitiation of Bhāgo-Chandī to brush his back against certain standing stones known as 'Bāgh-pāththals' which forthwith transform them temporarily into tigers. After this first transformation, the man can transform himself into a tiger whenever he chooses by brushing his back against any suitable thing he finds handy, such as an ant-hill.

The remains of a person killed by a tiger are burnt with the face of the corpse to the ground, so that it may not cast its 'evil eye' on any body. In some villages, sacrifices of a fowl is offered to the Bāghīā the very day that a man is killed by a tiger. The Mundās also observe a festival called 'Tumāngē' in which a show is made of chasing Bāghīās from all directions. People raise a hue-and-cry, pelt stones and hurl their sticks or *lāthis* at imaginary *bāghīās* with shouts of "mārō, mārō" (strike, strike)! Bāghīās are supposed to be frightened away from the locality by this mimic chase.

4.—*Bīr-sirājis.*

A particular class of Bāghīās is known as *Bīr-sirājis*. A Bīr-sirāji is said to be occasionally met with in the shape of a human dwarf with matted hair on its head. If a Bīr-sirāji spits before a man, it is said to be a bad omen and misfortune is in store for the man; if, however, the spittle has the appearance of blood, the omen is a good one and the man is destined to be very wealthy.

5.—*Muās.*

The spirits of persons who died by beheading are known as *Muās* and are believed to reside at the spot where their heads were

cut off. At times a Muā is seen in the actual bodily shape of a headless person like the 'Nikandha bhut' or headless ghost of Bengali popular demonology. But oftener a Mundā passing along a spot where a Muā resides hears about him suppressed cries of 'kīng-kīng' and believes that the Muā spirit is wheeling about him. When a person, whether through sickness or excessive grief, temporarily loses the power of speech, the Mundā suspects he has been attacked by a Muā.

6.—*Churels*.

More troublesome than Muās are the spirits of pregnant women who died either of illness or at childbirth. Such a spirit is variously called a *Churel*, a *Churin* or a *Chikin*. It is believed that there is hardly a tree in a Mundā village which is not tenanted by a *churel*. Unlike most other spirits, a *churel* may even live in a human dwelling. A *churel* is sometimes seen in the house even at day-time in the shape of a woman suckling her baby or watching her children, or spinning cotton with the spindle or taking out cotton-seeds with the *rāhtā*. At night, however, *churels* appear in different shapes—either in the shape of some beast, or in the shape of a yam, or of a piece of burning coal. Sometimes the presence of a *churel* is perceived by cries like those of a human baby. Sick people sometimes see visions of *churels* appearing before them, and cry out "Look! Look! so-and-so (naming a woman who died during pregnancy or at childbirth) is come to trouble me." *Churels* also give trouble to women at the time of their delivery. But even other people, particularly drunken people, men as well as women, are chased by a *churel* when they pass by its haunt, particularly at night. The *churel* throws pebbles or dust on them, stands before them to obstruct their passage, and throws them down on the ground. To prevent the spirit of a woman dying during pregnancy or at childbirth from haunting her old home, the corpse of such a female is buried near the boundary line (*do-siman*) of the village, thorns are railed on its feet so that the spirit may not walk back to the

village, its eyes are sewn up so that it may not be able to see its way home, and various kinds of food, such as parched rice or mustard are scattered on the way by which the corpse was carried to its grave, so that the spirit may be so engrossed in picking up the parched rice and similar other food cast in its way that it may not reach back to its former home. Her spindle and similar other things are also left at the grave in order that the spirit may remain occupied at the grave and not want to go back to its old home. And finally magic spells are recited over the grave to confine the spirit to the spot.

7.—*Khūnts*.

The spirits of all the dead men of the village are collectively known as *Khūnts*. As the men of a Mundā village live in organized clans or *Khūnts* and all the *Khūnts* of the living live in amity, so do these *Khūnts* of the dead who are believed to have an organization of their own and to live in amity and friendship. As among living persons, some of these spirits are mild and inoffensive and some are powerful and mischievous.

8.—*Hānkār Bōngās and Hāprōm*.

The spirits of men who died so long ago that their names have been forgotten, are collectively known as *Hānkār Bōngās* or *Purnā-Khūnti*; and the spirits of dead men whose names are still remembered are collectively known as *Hāprōm*. Whereas the *Hāprōm* are propitiated by the head of each family, in the house, by offering to them the first-fruits of particular fruit trees and edible plants, and by offering a few grains of rice before every meal and a few drops of rice-beer out of every pot, the *Hānkār Bōngās* are propitiated jointly by the men of a sept in the village or by all the villagers together at the ākhṛā where goats or sheep or buffaloes are sacrificed to them. The flesh of the animals offered to the *Hānkār Bōngās* may not be eaten by the men of the village. The latter leave them with their heads cut off when men of other villages take them away and eat them.

9.—*Chāṇḍī and Dārḥā.*

I have not yet heard any definite myths connected either with Dārḥā who is the most dreaded of all the village *bhuts* and guards the village like a *darwan* or door-keeper against *bhuts* seeking to intrude from outside, or with Chāṇḍī, the goddess particularly of hunting, who is represented by a stone at a *sarna* sacred to this spirit and is propitiated by naked young men with what we would call indecent rites and foul language. There are different Chāṇḍīs conferring different powers. Of these Bhāgo Chāṇḍī is said to confer on the votary the power of transforming himself into a man-eating tiger. While the votary of Bhāgo Chāṇḍī thus assumes the shape of a tiger and goes out to eat human flesh, his human body is left at home either asleep or sick.

Perhaps by way of protest against the suspicion of cannibalism, it is said that in their metamorphosed condition, they mistake cattle for men and men for cattle.

10.—*Beasts, Reptiles, and Weapons, etc.*

All the spirits of Mundā demonology manifest themselves under various guises and shapes, particularly in the shapes of tigers and snakes but sometimes also in the shape of other animals and also of human beings. Tigers, it may be mentioned, appear to have some special connection with the *bhuts* of the Mundās. And I have found the same belief among their kinsmen the Bir-hōrs and the Santāls. Some Mundās make offerings to their bows so that with their help they may have success in the chase. Many Mundās, however, shrink from making such offerings, inasmuch as they believe that if they once sacrifice to the bow as to a deity and are afterwards guilty of any remissness in their *pujās* to its powerful spirit, tigers are sure to attack and kill them when they go out to the jungles for hunting. Sometimes sacrifices are periodically offered by a Mundā to a weapon with which he or his father or other ancestor killed a human being. And the spirit of a man who has been murdered is generally propitiated at stated intervals by the murderer and his descendants after him. Among animals it may be noticed that monkeys are by many Mundās regarded as *bhuts* or spirits.

11. *Metamorphosis into stones.*

Finally, it may not be out of place to refer to a class of playful, erotic myths by which the Mundās seek to explain the existence in their country of ancient stone sculptures as also of certain rocks imagined to resemble in shape human beings or beasts. To take one instance;—near village Khijri, about six miles from Khūnti, there stands a rudely sculptured stone figure of what is supposed to be a female deity locally known as Nākti Rāni. Not far from it to the north is a rock known as Bar Pāhāri at village Dumri; and about five miles to its south is another hill named Bin-būrū. Now the myth goes that Nākti who was the wife of the spirit of Bar Pāhāri was eloping with the spirit of Bin-būrū, and when the lovers had gone halfway, Bar Pāhāri discovered the elopement and began to shoot his stone arrows at them. The Bin-būrū spirit managed to escape to his seat, but Nākti who sought to slink back to her husband got petrified through fear at the spot. A few small stone columns between villages Khūnti and Birhū are still pointed out as the stone arrows shot at them.

These erotic myths—which are not numerous—are now repeated by their Hindu neighbours as well, and it may be supposed that myths of this type were suggested by Hindu fancy. But it must be noticed that the belief in the metamorphosis of men and things into stones appears to be quite natural to the Mundā mind. Thus, the existence of stone figures supposed to resemble drums, cymbals, etc., lying on the boundary of village Pānsākōm not far from the Dasom water-falls are explained by the myth that a great musician of the name of Chailā Sāndu who could play upon a nāgerā, a māṇḍal, and a jhānj, all at the same time, was crossing the stream, with all the three instruments about him, his feet with which he used to play upon the jhānj slipped and he tumbled into the water. The instruments were turned into stones and may still be seen. Similar stone figures at Dūlmi (police station, Tāmār) and elsewhere are accounted for by similar myths of metamorphosis into stones.

VIII.—Some North Indian Charms for the Cure of Ailments.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B.L.

PRIMITIVE man thinks that the ailments, which afflict him and which are caused by some mysterious agency invisible to him, must be the outcome of the action of some malevolent spirit or being. He, therefore, betakes himself to a wise man among his people, who, he believes, can, by his superior knowledge, counteract the disease-demon's baleful influence. These modes of thought and action are prevalent among all races of people now existing in a low plane of culture. A research, therefore, made in the obscure fields of primitive leechcraft, or, as it has been aptly termed by Mr. W. G. Black, folk-medicine, may throw a good deal of light on the mental attitude of primitive man and, thereby, afford much assistance in the study of the evolution of human culture.

I have already published two papers on this subject. In my paper entitled "*North Indian Folk-Medicine for Hydrophobia and Scorpion-stings*," [1] I have published three charms, which are in vogue in Bihār, for the cure of these ills. In my second paper, I have published a cure-charm for the bite of the Bodā-snake.[2] I have already said that the language of these charms or incantations is Bengali, as they have been borrowed from the *ojhas* or medicine-men of Bengal. But as they are intended for use in Bihār, the instructions for using them are in Hindi. [3]

In this paper, I intend to publish the texts, with translations and remarks, of five charms or incantations which are current in

[1] *Vide the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI (N. S.), pages 217—230.

[2] *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. X, pages 393—399.

[3] *Op. cit.*, page 393.

Bihār for the cure of certain ailments. The first two of these, which are for curing stomach-complaints, namely, diarrhœa and dysentery, are as follows:—

CURE-CHARM NO. I DIARRHŒA AND DYSENTERY.

Alisār wo dast band karne kâ mantra.

1. *Gangā Jamunā tirther pāni.*
2. *Eah kâhinî kâhinî.*
3. *Se khâילו pāni.*
4. *Aj haite dūr hailo (amuker) bāndāyā tulānî.[*]*
5. *Siddha guru Srī Rāmer ājnāya.*

TARIKA.

Jo mantra padhai wahî jal padhe hne pāni ko piye. Jahān par " amuk " sabda likhā gayā hai, wahānpar rogikā nām lenā chāhiye.

TRANSLATION OF CURE-CHARM NO. I FOR DIARRHŒA AND
DYSENTERY.

Incantation for stopping Diarrhœa and Dysentery.

1. The water of the sacred rivers Ganges and Jumna.
2. [This is the traditional practice (literally, story)].
3. He drank that water.
4. From this day went off (so-and-so's) ailment.
5. At the bidding of the preceptor Srī Rāma who is well versed in sorcery.

DIRECTION.

He, who recites this incantation, should quaff the charmed water. While reciting it, the reciter should mention the patient's name where the word " amuker " occurs.

This incantation is a remarkable example of that class of cure-charms which are characterized by the London Folklore Society as "the simple narration of an event, with a sequel similar to what the charm-reciter now desires." It bears a striking resemblance to the following charm which is in vogue in Cornwall, and,

[*] The words *Bandaya tulani* are obscure, and I have not been able to make out the meaning thereof. But the sense thereof appears to be "ailment or disease."

in a more or less modified form, in Kerry, Saxony and many of the English counties :—

“Peter sat at the gate of Jerusalem. Jesus cometh to him and saith, ‘Peter, what aileth thee?’ He saith, ‘Lord, I am grievously tormented with the toothache!’ He saith, ‘Arise, Peter, and follow me.’ He did so, and immediately the toothache left him; and he followed Him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” [5]

In the North Indian cure-charm mentioned above, the sufferer from diarrhoea is represented as having drunk the water of the sacred rivers Ganges and Jumna; and thereupon the disease is stated to have left him from that very day at Sṛī Rāma’s bidding.

The second incantation for the cure of dysentery is as follows :—

CURE-CHARM NO. II FOR DYSENTERY.

Pet se āṇwa khūn kā nikālnā band karnekā mantra. [6]

1. *Sāgarer kūle upajila sūla.*
2. *Arē piyo or pāni.*
3. *(Amuker) sūchinām kari.*
4. *Raktasūla chhādāni dharmer āināya.*

TARIKA.

Eah mantra paḍhkar jal piyai. Aṇwa khunke dastoṇ kā ānā band hojāyāgā.

TRANSLATION OF CURE-CHARM NO. II FOR DYSENTERY.

Incantation for stopping the passing of mucus and blood from the stomach.

1. The belly-ache grew on the shore of the sea.
2. O! Drink the water of the sea.
3. So-and-so’s sacred name (I mention).

[5] *The Handbook of Folklore*, By G. L. Gomme. London : David Nutt. 1890, pages 51-52.

[6] I have slightly revised the text of this incantation, so that some sense may be made of the same. I have given the corrupt text of this *mantra* at the end of this paper.

4. It is the order of the deity (dharma) which drives off dysentery.

DIRECTION.

Having recited this incantation, quaff the charmed water. (This being done), the passing of stools composed of mucus and blood will be stopped.

It would appear that the essential feature of the two aforementioned "cures" is the charming of water with the recital of the two foregoing incantations, and the drinking by the patient of the charmed water. The practice of administering charmed water by way of remedy is also prevalent in Bengal, for instance, in the district of Murshidabad, where sick children are treated by *ojhas* in this way. These medicine-men, who are credited with the possession of hypnotic powers, pass their hands over the patient, to the accompaniment of the recital of *mantras* or incantations, or he may gently brush the patient's body with a bundle of twigs. Then *mantras* are recited over water; and the child is made to drink it.[7] The *mantras* are supposed to endow the water with magic efficacy.

This method of curing dysentery and diarrhoea by the administration of charmed water is but another modification of that wide-spread practice according to which patients are made to gulp down papers inscribed with charms, or to drink water in which slates or other articles, on which passages from the Koran or other charms have been written, are washed. Among the Muhammadans, the practice is in vogue of making the patient swallow slips of paper on which extracts from the Koran have been written. For an illustration of this practice, see page 573 of Sven Hedin's *Central Asia and Tibet*, Vol. I. (1903). Similarly in Japan, when a person falls ill, he swallows, with hot water, a small picture of Buddha on a piece of tissue paper as big as a postage stamp. If this remedy fails to cure the patient, the native Japanese physician—the *Issha San*—is sent for.[8]

[7] *A History of Murshidabad District (Bengal)*. By Major J. H. Tull Walsh. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1902, pages 86-87.

[8] *Seas and Lands*. (Colonial Library Series.) By Sir Edwin Arnold. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895, pages 409-410; 463; 543.

The practice of drinking the water in which the charm has been washed is also in vogue in Gambia in Western Africa, where the "doctor", having been called in, comes and, after looking at the patient, sits down by his bedside. Then he writes out on a wooden slate, a long rigmarole in Arabic characters, which generally consists of passages from the Koran. The slate is then washed, and the patient is made to drink this dirty infusion. A practice, very similar to this, is resorted to by the Lamas of Tibet. When a person suffers from dementia, which, the Tibetans believe, is caused by the evil eye, the Lama exorcist writes with Chinese ink on a little slab of wood the particular letters, called "the edible letters (*Za-yig*)", and besmears the writing with a thin varnish of myrabolan and saffron paste. Then, on every twenty-ninth day the inscribed slab of wood is reflected in a mirror; and, while so reflected, the surface of the mirror is washed with beer. The washing thereof is collected in a cup, and the patient has to drink it in nine sips.[⁹] In Bihar, a similar device is had recourse to for the purpose of expediting the *accouchement* of a parturient woman. A magic square, divided into 16 smaller squares, each of the latter containing a number, is drawn with chalk on a new earthen saucer. The numbers, inscribed within the smaller squares, if added horizontally, perpendicularly, or diagonally, total up to 32. This diagram is then shown to the parturient woman and washed off with water, the infusion being collected in a vessel. She is then made to swallow this liquid; and it is believed that she is immediately thereafter brought to bed of the child.[¹⁰]

I have already shown that, in Bengal and Bihār, charmed water is administered to a person suffering from hydrophobia.[¹¹] It is also used for curing rheumatism, as will appear from the next incantation which has been discussed *infra*.

[⁹] *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. By L. A. Waddell, M. B. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Ltd. 1895, page 401.

[¹⁰] *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VIII, pages 349-350

[¹¹] *Vide the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI (N. S.), pages 221-222.

We have, at the very root of this practice of administering charmed water to a person suffering from some particular kind of ailment, an idea which can be traced back to ancient Babylonia which was the birth-place of black magic and sorcery. The beliefs of the Jews, Greeks, Syrian Christians, and Arabs in demons and witches, were derived from the Chaldean sorcerers and soothsayers. It was a very strong article of faith among the ancient Babylonians that, along with the spirits of light, there existed a terrible host of infernal beings, the "black gods" as they were called, who were for ever waging a deadly conflict with human beings. These terrible demons more or less kept company with the restless and uncared-for souls of dead men, the ghosts and spooks, the vampires, the phantoms of the night, and the uncanny ghouls and evil spirits whose favourite haunts were the desert, the solitary rock-caves, and ruined buildings. Like the Egyptians, the Babylonians believed that the souls of the dead, whose wants were not ministered to by their surviving kinsmen, whose funeral offerings were not supplied, would come out of their dread abodes, haunt men and demand from them their dues. It is for this reason that, in one Babylonian incantation, the ghost is addressed thus: "Whether thou art the ghost of one unburied, or a ghost that none careth for, with none to make offerings for it, that hath none to pour out libations for it, or the ghost of one that hath no posterity." The uncared-for *revenants* of the dead, therefore, subsisted "on the dregs of the cup, the leavings of the feast, or that which was cast into the gutter." To this is to be traced the belief that, in the darkness of the night, the cities were haunted by restless *revenants*, searching for food in places where they could find it and ready to assail any benighted wayfarer. But still more terrible than the ghosts of the sterner sex were the female *revenants*, the spirits of women who had died in child-birth, or while they were nursing their children, or young people of marriageable age who had died untimely deaths. In this category is to be included the female ghost Lilitu—the Lilith of Talmudic folkbeliefs—the demon consort of Adam, to whom she bore quite

a family of ghostly offspring. A curious feature of the ghost-lore of ancient Babylonia was the belief that the *revenants* of unmarried women restlessly roamed about, seeking for some one who would be captivated by their ghostly charms. This has given rise to the alleged existence of those beautiful demonesses who are said to have tempted the early Christian Saints in the deserts and caverns remote from the haunts of men.

Another interesting feature of the ancient Babylonian demon-lore was the intimate connection that was believed to exist between the demons, diseases and storms, who are described in one tablet as follows :—

“Through the gloomy streets by night they roam,
Smiting sheep-fold and cattle-pen,
Rending in pieces on high ; bringing destruction below,
They are the offspring of the under-world.
Loudly roaring above ; gibbering below,
They are the bitter venom of the gods.
They are the storms directed from heaven.
They are as owls that hoot over the city.”

From the above passage we get an inkling of the ancient Babylonian belief that diseases and storms were caused by evil spirits and demons—an idea which has survived, even to the present day, in the animistic belief existing among many aboriginal races of people inhabiting India—a belief in “the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or influences..... which gives its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, which generates jungle fever, and walks abroad in the terrible guise of cholera, small-pox, or murrain.” The plague-god was believed by the Babylonians to “march from city to city, resting alike on the body of chief and slave.” The war-god was his brother ; and his disciple was Isum (“the burner”)—“the god of infectious diseases”—who is described, in a very old Babylonian poem dating from about B.C. 2500, as “the one who goes to and fro in the streets,” from house to house, and is said to have been born in the “gutter of the street,”—thereby anticipating the modern diagnosis of the etiology of the infectious diseases.

Now the Babylonians and Chaldeans performed many rites and ceremonies for exorcising evil spirits and, for the matter of that, disease-demons from persons afflicted by them and for protecting the latter from their assaults. They used to sprinkle holy water on persons or houses haunted by these demons in order to expel the latter—a rite which was believed to be very efficacious, as it was thought that the water-spell caused the demon “to trickle away like water,” just as a censor or torch of pure light was believed to drive the malignant spirit out of the afflicted person’s body.^[12]

It will thus be seen that the mantle of the ancient Babylonian sorcerer, exorcising disease-demons from persons afflicted by them by means of holy or charmed water, has fallen on the latter-day Bihārī and Bengali *ojha* or medicine-man.

I shall, now, take up for discussion two incantations which are used for the cure of rheumatism. They are as follows :—

CHARM NO. I FOR THE CURE OF RHEUMATISM.

Dard dūrkarnekā mantra.^[13]

1. *Bāt re bāt, jānlām tor jāti.*
2. *Amāvasyā maṅgalvāre tor utpatti.*
3. *Duiyābāt, puiyābāt, pāthuriyābāt, sajashtiyābāt.*
4. *Rāma bole na harūt, Lakshaṇ bole na harūt.*
5. *Chalchul amuker aṅge thākibār janya.*
6. *Chal Lankūyṣ paḍ, siddha gurū Srī Rāmer ājñāya.*
7. *Gangā, Jamunā, Trivenī, amuker kākini.*
8. *Amuker khaṇḍa kaṭṭhanā māni.*

TARIKA.

Is mantra se jal paḍhkar wah jal rogī ko pilāwai. Our māñthe wo ākhoun par chhiḍko.

TRANSLATION OF CHARM NO. I FOR CURING RHEUMATISM.

1. O rheumatism ! I know of what kind you are.

^[12] For a fuller discussion of Babylonian Magic and Demonology, see *The First of Empires: "Babylon of the Bible" in the Light of Latest Research.* By W. St. Chad Boscawen. London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1913, pages 270—273.

^[13] I have revised the text of this incantation, the corrupt text whereof is given at the end of this paper.

2. You were born on the last day of the dark half of the lunar month and on a Tuesday.

3. O *duiyā* [¹⁴] rheumatism! O *puiyā* [¹⁴]rheumatism!
O *pāthu-riyā* [¹⁵] rheumatism! O *sājshtiyā* rheumatism!

4. Rāma does not say *harut*; [¹⁵] Lakshan does not say *harut*. [¹⁵]

5. Go, go to so-and-so's body for staying there.

6. Go and fall into Lankā (Ceylon) at the command of the preceptor Śrī Rāma who is well versed in sorcery.

7. O Ganges! O Jamuna! O Tribeni! This is so-and-so's traditional practice (literally, story).

8. *Amuker khaṇḍa kaṭṭhanū māni*. [¹⁶]

DIRECTION.

Water should be charmed with the recital of this incantation. The patient should be made to drink this water which should be also sprinkled over his head and eyes.

The most noteworthy feature of this cure-charm is the sprinkling of the charmed water on the patient's head and eyes. I have already stated above that the ancient Babylonian sorcerers used to sprinkle holy water over persons or houses haunted by demons in order to exorcise the latter. The practice became developed in later times into the custom according to which persons afflicted with dire maladies bathed in sacred rivers, pools, or springs in order to heal themselves. It is under the behests of this custom that Naaman the leper (2 Ki. v. 6) bathed in the Jordan seven times and became healed; it is in accordance with this practice that a whole host of sick people used to wait their turn on the margin of Bethesda for the healing dip (John v. 2). This old custom has survived even into modern times in the shape of the practice of dipping rickety children in holy wells and in the bathing of cripples in St. Winifred's Well in Flintshire, to which crutches are offered up as votive offerings. With the same object in view, the Tibetan goes to the sacred spring—called by

[¹⁴] The meanings of the words "*Duiya*", "*Puiya*", "*Pathuriya*", and "*Sajshliya*" are unknown to me. Probably they signify different kinds of rheumatism.

[¹⁵] The meaning of the word "*Harut*" is not known to me.

[¹⁶] I have not been able to make out the meaning of this line.

Dr. Sven Hedin "a Lourdes in miniature"—and drinks a goodly draught of its healing waters to render himself invulnerable to the bullets of robbers. When he takes his stand on its margin and pours its waters with both hands over his head, he believes that, by doing so, he will be immune from falling into the hands of footpads and from other misfortunes. Then, again, he pours its water over his horse's head and mane in the belief that it will be protected from wolves; and if a sheep or other animal is ill, he only sprinkles it with the holy water of this sacred spring in order to restore it to its health again.^[17]

Then I take up for discussion the second incantation for the cure of rheumatism which is as follows :—

CHARM NO. II FOR THE CURE OF RHEUMATISM.

Bagli dard kã dūr karnekã mantra.

1. *Bāt, bāt, akāl bāt.*
2. *Andha bāt, kunkune bāt, kutkutare bāt.*
3. *Amār prati chakre sighra phāt.*
4. *Phāta tomār dāke, pavanputra Hanumān.*
5. *Kār ājnāya, Rājā Sri Rāmer ājnāya.*

TARIKA.

Khali sārson kã tel baglī dard hã jagah lugāya. Ahiste se hāthon ko badan par phirātā rahai. Harek mantra padhne par phunh maren.

TRANSLATION OF CHARM NO. II FOR CURING RHEUMATISM.

1. O rheumatism ! O untimely rheumatism !
2. O blind rheumatism ! O *kunkune* [¹⁸] rheumatism !
O *kutkutare* [¹⁵] rheumatism !
3. At every machination (*i.e.* device) of mine, soon abate.
4. O Hanuman, the son of wind ! Let (the rheumatism) abate at thy command.
5. At whose command ? At the command of Srī Rāma.

[¹⁷] *Trans-Himalaya*. By Sven Hedin. 2 Volumes. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1909. Vol. II, pages 105—106.

[¹⁸] I am unable to find out the meanings of the words "*Kunkune*" and "*Kutkutare*". Perhaps they denote different kinds of rheumatism, according to the degrees of the twinge of pain caused thereby.

DIRECTION.

Apply oil of mustard over that part (of the patient's body) which is afflicted with rheumatism. Rub it gently with the hands over the affected part. Each time that this incantation is recited, blow over the affected limb.

In this connection, I may state that, in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal, the exorciser pretends to cure all sorts of ailments by blowing on the patient's body.^[19]

The most interesting fact connected with the aforementioned second incantation for the cure of rheumatism is that the medicine-man is directed to blow over the affected limb every time that it is recited by him. I have already shown that the object of the exorciser's blowing upon the patient's body or upon his affected limb is to effect the cure, most probably, by means of hypnotic suggestion and magnetism, especially by the former.^[20]

Compare with the foregoing treatment of rheumatism by means of incantations, the undermentioned methods of treating the same ailment by means of amulets. For this purpose a bit of a bat's bone is tied by a string round the patient's ankle in Northern India, just as the eelskin is used with the same object in England.^[21] In the same way, it is believed in Ireland that an iron ring worn on the fourth finger will cure rheumatism.^[22] In the direction for the use of the second cure-charm, it is prescribed that the oil of mustard should be rubbed over that part of the patient's body which is afflicted with rheumatism. This remedy has its parallel in the use of the tiger's fat as a sovereign medicine for the cure of this malady.

As a result of the animistic beliefs largely prevalent in India, it is an article of faith among many races of people inhabiting this country that all sorts of diseases are caused by demons. By

[19] *vide* Dr. Tall Walsh's *History of Murshidabad District*, pages 86—87.

[20] *Vide* the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI. (N. S.), pages 226—227.

[21] Crooke's: *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), page 212.

[22] *Op. cit.*, page 192.

way of examples, we may state that in Sarguja, diarrhoea is said to be caused by a demon named *Mahādāni Deo*.^[23] Among the Korwas of Mirzapur, it is believed that a *Bhutīn* or demoness named *Reiyā* afflicts men with rheumatism.^[24] The Majhwārs, who inhabit the same part of the country as the Korwas, entertain the belief that fever is caused by a *rākshasa* who attacks them during sleep. It is also believed by them that this fever-demon can only be driven away by the tribal medicine-man called the *Baiga* with the offering of rice and pulse. A survival of this belief is also faintly traceable among the people of Bengal and Bihār, for otherwise the services of the *ojha* or village medicine-man would not have been requisitioned for the purpose of exorcising away fever with the undermentioned incantation. It seems to be a jumble of meaningless words; and, with the exception of lines 5, 6 and 7 thereof, no sense can be made of the remaining portions. It is as follows :—

CHARM FOR THE CURE OF FEVER.

Bukhār utārnekā mantra.

1. *Manasā hedām nava ke kaptī base.*
2. *Kapāla hāvake mūle hanummanda kī āp sīsē janga.*
3. *Pādān rīvān mantra sāntī gāyatrī.*
4. *Tāmsain devatā māhājā rājā.*
5. *Tijāt, ekjwarā, dojwarā, tinjwarā, charijwarā, sātjwarā.*
6. *Jo rahai tou Rājā Aiayapā'akū chakra bahoi.*
7. *Tentis kot devatā tere mantra kī sakti se chalen.*
8. *Chonch na khand meñjāya chor nagāre bādān khāya.*
9. *Kshane bāma kshane dakshin, kshane āse hor.*
10. *Ajan soro smārire kāyā bikhyāta hor.*

TRANSLATION.

5. Fever recurring at intervals of three days ; ^[25] fever coming on at intervals of one day ; fever coming on at intervals of two days ; fever coming on at intervals of three days ; fever coming

[23] *Op. cit.*, page 178.

[24] *Op. cit.*, page 146.

[25] I have taken the word "*Tijāt*" as a corruption of the word "*Tijra*" which means "fever recurring at intervals of three days".

on at intervals of four days ; fever coming on at intervals of seven days.

6. Whatever (kind of fever) remains may yield to the spells of Rājā Ajaypāl.

7. May move according to the potency of the incantations of ye, O thirty-three *krors* of deities !

In the district of Murshidabad in Bengal, fever is also supposed to be cured by charms or *mantras*, recitations from the epic *Mahābhārata* in which Śrī Krishna is represented as fighting the worst forms of fever, by the offering up of prayers to *Nārāyaṇa* and *Jarāsur* who is represented in Hindu art as being fair-complexioned, having six hands and three faces, and wearing a tiger-skin, and whose worship takes place in the open air, generally thrice every day.[²⁶] Similarly in Bundelkhand, it is believed that people suffering from quartan ague are cured of it by worshipping a local godling—a deified Rajput chieftain—named *Rae Singh*. [²⁷]

The question arises—Who is Rājā Ajaypāl mentioned in the incantation set forth above ? Perhaps he was a mighty sorcerer, or a local godling like *Rae Singh*, who was credited with the possession of a good deal of healing power.

I have already shown that, in Bengal, Bihār, and in the district of Gorakhpur in the United Provinces, much efficacy is ascribed to the tail of the common house-lizard as a curative agent. Its tail, if it is cut off on a Saturday, Sunday or Tuesday, and worn, wrapped up in a piece of linen, as an amulet by a person suffering from ague, is believed to cure him of it.[²⁸]

I shall conclude this paper by saying that these cure-charms are exemplifications of the coercive power ascribed to the spoken words of persons who are popularly believed to be possessed of

[²⁶] Vide Dr. Tull Walsh's *History of Murshidabad District*, pages 86—87.

[²⁷] Crooke's : *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), pages 126—127.

[²⁸] Vide my article *On the Lizard in Indian Superstition and Folk-Medicine* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, Part III, No. 1 of 1898, pages 4546.

wonder-working powers.^[20] These are addressed to the disease-demon who is supposed to be afflicting the patient, and who is believed to be stronger than the exorcist himself. Hence the latter invokes deities and semi-divine personages like Śrī Rāma and Rājā Ajaypāl, whom he believes to be stronger than his antagonist—the disease-demon—to assist him in expelling the latter.

^[20] Vide the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. IX, page 501.

APPENDIX.

- (1) Corrupt Text of Cure-Charm No. I for Diarrhœa and Dysentery.

अतिसार १ दृष्ट

गंगा यमुना तीर्थे पानि । यह काहिनी काहिनी । से खाइनी पानि ।
आज हइते दूर हइनी अमुकेर बान्दाया तुलानी । सिद्धि गुरु श्री रामेर
आज्ञा ।

- (2) Corrupt Text of Cure-Charm No. II for Dysentery.

पेट से आव खून का निकालना बंद करना । सागरेर कूले उपजिल शूल ।
आरे पी ओर पानि । अमुकेर सूचिनाम रक्त शूल झाड़ानि घर्मेर आज्ञा ।

- (3) Corrupt Text of Cure-Charm No. I for Rheumatism.

वातरे वात जान लोम तोर जाति । अमावस्या मंगल वारे तोर उत्पति
दुइयावात-पुइयावात-पाथुरिया वात, सजद्विया वात, रामे बोले न हइत् ।
लक्ष्मणे बोले न चलचल अमुकेर अंगे याकिवार पैल लंकाय पड़ सिद्धि गुरु
श्री रामेर आज्ञा, गंगा यमुना त्रिवेणी अमुकार काहिनी अमुकार खंड
कतठना मानि ।

- (4) Corrupt Text of Cure-Charm No. II for Rheumatism.

वात वात अकाल वात, अन्य वात कुतकृते वात कुट कुटरे वात । आमार
प्रति चक्रे शीघ्र फाट् । तौमार डाँके पवन पुत्र हनुमान । कार आज्ञाय ।
राजा श्री रामेर आज्ञा ।

- (5) Corrupt Text of Cure-Charm for Fever.

मनसा वेदाम नव के कपटी बसे कपाल हावके मूले हनुमण्ड कौ आप
सोसी जंग, पाड़ान रिवान मंत्र शान्ति गायत्री तामसेन देवता माइजा
राजा, तिजाट, एक ज्वरा, दो ज्वरा, तिन ज्वरा ; चारि ज्वरा, सात ज्वरा ;
जो रहै तौ राजा अजय पालका चक्र बहै ; तौतिस कोट देवता तेरे मंत्र कौ
शक्ति से चले । चोंच न खंड में जाय चोर नगरे वादानखाय । क्षणे वाम
क्षणे दक्षिण, क्षणे आसो होर अजन सोरो सरिरे काया बिखात होर ।

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—Samasāmayik Bhārat, Parts I, II, III, & VIII.

By Professor Jogendra Nath Samaddar (Messrs. Samaddar Brothers, Moradpur, Patna).

This is the first attempt to present in Bengali a free translation of all the ancient foreign accounts of India available at the present day. Although summaries of what certain ancient Greek and Chinese travellers said about India in the past have already been given in Bengali in such books as Mr. Ram Pran Gupta's *Prāchin Bhārat*, and in *Megasthenes-er Bhārat Bibaran*, no previous writer has attempted such a comprehensive task in Bengali as has been undertaken by Prof. Samaddar. The language of the translations is generally clear and simple, and the foot-notes add to the value and usefulness of the translations.

The introductions written for the four volumes by four distinguished scholars of Bengal add to the interest of the work. An interesting theory has been started by Mr. Nagen-dra Nath Basu, in his foreword to Part II, of the work. He says that Megasthenes came as an ambassador to the court not of Chandra Gupta but of his grandson Asoka. This is not the place to discuss the merits of this theory. We are sorry to find in these volumes a number of printing mistakes which we hope will be corrected in a later edition. On the whole we have no hesitation in saying that Prof. Samaddar's work will prove a valuable contribution to the growing historical literature of Bengal.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of an Ordinary Meeting of the Society.*

His Honour Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President,
in the Chair.

Dr. D. B. Spooner read a paper on Hindu Architecture which was illustrated by magic lantern slides. In introducing the lecturer, His Honour the President observed as follows :—

“In the course of my annual address I mentioned that efforts were being made to persuade experts in the various subjects with which the Bihar and Orissa Research Society deals to contribute papers to our Journal stating broadly what is already known and indicating the lines on which future research should proceed. Amongst others we approached Dr. Spooner and the paper he is about to read to us on types of architecture is, I hope, only the first of a series.

Dr. Spooner is an archæologist of high repute, and he is far too well known to you all to need any introduction from me. I will, therefore, without wasting time ask him to read his paper, which I am sure we shall all listen to with the greatest interest.”

Dr. Spooner then read his paper which is printed at pages 119—134 of this Journal. After the paper had been read, a vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by the Hon'ble Sir Edward Chamier and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham and carried with acclamation by all present. After the lecture, His Honour the President exhibited three pieces of copper which was recently found about a foot below the surface on the bank of the Gūlpa

* Held at the Patna College, Bankipore, on the 26th February, 1916.

river, in Bhaliā village, Baghrā Pir, of the Mayurbhanj State, in Orissā. The President said that they appeared to be battle axes. A full description of them will be given in a later number of the Journal. One rectangular and another circular piece of stone with carved footprints of Jaina saints, which were dug up near Rājgir and presented to the Society by Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzand Ahmad, a few ancient Hindu coins presented to the Society by the Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, and a few stone celts collected by the General Secretary were also exhibited. A vote of thanks to His Honour the President, proposed by Principal V. H. Jackson and carried with acclamation by the meeting, concluded the proceedings.

II.—Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

PRESENT :

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A., *in the Chair*.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.

Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
2. Twenty ordinary members and five Honorary Members were elected. Their names are noted below :—

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1. Sir James G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt. D., No. 1, Brick Court, Middle Temple, London, E. C.
2. Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D. Litt, I.C.S. (Retd.), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, London.
3. Dr. Alfred C. Haddon, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge, 3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
4. Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S., St. John's College, Cambridge.
5. Vincent A. Smith, Esq., M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.), 116, Banbury Road, Oxford.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

1. Hon'ble Mr. W. Maude, C.S.I., I.C.S., Bankipore.
2. P. T. Mansfield, Esq., I.C.S., Bankipore.
3. W. H. Crawford, Esq., B.A., I.C.S., Purulia (Manbhum).

* Held at the Patna College, at 7 P.M. the 26th February 1916.

4. H. G. Graves, Esq., 1, Council House Street, Calcutta.
 5. Hon'ble Mr. F. Clayton, F.C.H., Ranchi.
 6. Babu Basanta Coomer Chatterji, B.L., Pleader, Ranchi.
 7. Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzand-i-Ahmad, Gaya.
 8. Saiyid Muhammad Mahbub Alam, Pinjora, District Gaya.
 9. Babu Mukutdhari Singh, B.A., Dy. Magistrate, Chapra.
 10. Babu Mahendra Prashad, Manager, Bihar Bank, Chapra.
 11. Mr. Nanda Lal Mazumdar, Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Gidhaur.
 12. R. F. Cooper, Esq., M.A., Principal, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
 13. Saiyid Zamir-ud-din Ahmad, Sadar Gali, Patna City, Patna.
 14. Babu Ashutosh Chatarjee, Chatarjee Pharmacy, Gaya.
 15. E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A., Professor, Patna College, Bankipore.
 16. Babu Jyotish Chandra Banarjee, M.A., Professor, Patna College, Bankipore.
 17. Babu Radha Krishna Jha, M.A., Professor, Patna College, Bankipore.
 18. Babu Raghunandan Pande, M.A., Professor, Patna College, Bankipore.
 19. Khan Sahib Maulvi Muhammad Yasin, Professor, Patna College, Bankipore.
 20. Pandit Deo Datta Tripathi Kavyatirtha, Professor, Patna College, Bankipore.
3. The papers for the March number of the Journal were considered and passed.

III.—Minutes of a Meeting of the Council.*

PRESENT :

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S.,
Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
2. Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam.
3. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.
4. Professor J. N. Sarkar, M.A.
5. Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A.
6. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

(1) The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

(2) Pending applications for membership were considered, and 1 Life member and 12 Ordinary members were duly elected. Their names were noted below :—

LIFE MEMBER.

1. Maharaja Bahadur Keshava Prashad Singh of Dumraon.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

1. D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A., Principal, B. N. College, Bankipore.
2. Babu Amareswar Thakur, M.A., Professor, B. N. College, Bankipore.
3. Mr. Muazzam Ali, Bar.-at-Law, Bankipore.
4. Pandit Dwaraka Prasad Pathak, Vakil, Bankipore.
5. Mr. G. C. Wolfe, "Kelso", Dalhousie (Punjab).
6. Babu Hari Nath Ghosh, B.L., Pleader, Purulia (Manbhum).

* Held on Saturday, the 8th April 1916, at the Commissioner's House at Bankipore.

7. Sri Lakshmi Narayan Deb, Jubaraj of Tekkali (District Ganjam).
8. Mr. G. W. Place, I.C.S. (Retired), 9, Ailesbury Road, Dublin (Ireland).
9. M. Masud Raza, Madhipura (District Bhagalpore).
10. Babu Harsa Prasad Singh, Honorary Magistrate, Arrah.
11. Babu Nares Chandra Sinha, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna, Bankipore.
12. Dr. Sheo Nandan Tewari, D.P.H., Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, Bankipore.

(3) Considered the estimates received from different presses, for the cost of printing the Journal, and resolved that the Journal continue to be printed at the Gulzarbagh Government Press.

(4) Read a letter from Raja Kamaleshvari Prasad Singh of Monghyr, dated the 17th March 1916, forwarding a sum of Rs. 5,000 as a "donation in aid of the work the Society is doing". Resolved that the very cordial thanks of the Council be conveyed to the Raja Sahib for his munificent donation towards the work of the Society.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. II.]

[PART III.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Some Remarks on the Position of Women among the Santāls.

By Rev. P. O. Bodding.

My old friend the Hon'ble Dr. A. Campbell in the first part of the *Journal* of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society published an interesting paper on the laws of inheritance and partition among the Santāls.

I have no doubt as to his statements being correct so far as the Santāls of Mānbhum are concerned. On one or two points there is, however, apparently some difference in the customary laws as practised in the Santāl Parganās (where the bulk of the Santāl population at present lives) and in Mānbhum, as will appear from the following :—

The Santāls in the Santāl Parganās are apparently a little more advanced than their Mānbhum brethren, especially with regard to the treatment of their women.

The original and, I might say, even now often theoretically accepted idea of woman among the Santāls seems to be, that she

is a kind of irresponsible and untrustworthy being, a necessary and useful, but somewhat inferior member of human society.

Women are thus kept away from direct participation in religious worship; they have no "political" rights (the word taken in its original meaning); they are, of course, debarred from sitting in the village councils, although they appear in person before such, and are permitted to speak.

They have folk-tales setting forth the foolishness, the depraved character and the untrustworthiness of women; they have proverbs saying the same. They also have stories of the ability of women to outwit the unsuspecting man, and even of women having outwitted *Marah-buru* himself (the Santāl principal national deity or spirit). They suspect a woman of being capable of making even *boṅgas* captives to their charms, and consequently of being able to make the *boṅgas* do their nefarious bidding. As a matter of course, every woman is suspected of being a witch.

Much more might be said of the supposed disabilities of women; and it is not infrequent to hear the superior men, specially when among themselves, speak of the low estate of women. A mother of only girls may be heard called a mother of dogs! But whatever the theories may be, and howsoever the men may talk, in the daily social life of the people, the Santāl woman has a very independent and strong position, both in the home and in the village. Not infrequently she is the virtual ruler.

The existence of a woman among the Santāls turns on marriage; marriage is the aim of her existence; a woman is a wife *in spe*, an actual wife or a widow. A grown-up unmarried woman is altogether anomalous; a Santāl woman of such a state would be thought to be either a harlot or suffering from some very serious defect of body or mind which makes marriage impossible.

It should be added that the Santāl social laws regulating the contracting of marriage among them must make marriage very much of a lottery for them, and marriage often turns out badly (their remedy out of the difficulties being divorce and a new

attempt at marriage for both parties). But whilst this is so, it must on the other hand be acknowledged, that the relations between husband and wife, when they have once settled down to life are generally good, and often very good; it is a mistake to think that true conjugal love is not found among them. There is often a genuine mutual respect between husband and wife, and the men have a great regard for their sisters and daughters (and *vice versa*) and feel themselves the natural protectors of these.

The human feelings among the Santál men assert themselves, and this must yield results in practical life.

The Santáls are developing from an unsettled, semi-hunting stage of life to that of settled agriculturists. There are signs that the Santáls were formerly a communistic society; the village seems to have been the "owner" of any "cultivated" land with a yearly redistribution of the personal tenures. Now this is entirely altered; all cultivated land is owned by, or (here in the Santál Parganá) more correctly speaking, held by individuals and their offspring as tenants.

Whatever their attainments as cultivators, the Santáls now know the value of land; they know what it means to reclaim jungle; they are conscious of all the work they have put into the cultivation of their fields. However strong the family feeling may be, the acquisition of property with its ensuing labour and toil has a tendency among them to foster the wish to let their own offspring enjoy its fruits, even if they happen to be girls.

As remarked above, the existence of a woman turns on her marriage; but to be married a woman must first be sold. The business side of the transaction should perhaps not be pressed too hard; but undoubtedly the legal basis of marriage among the Santáls, as among very many other people both nowadays and formerly, is the ownership of the husband (or of the family of the husband) in a woman.

A woman is sold into marriage. If the marriage proves unsuitable and is in consequence dissolved, as it very frequently is (which may naturally be expected when a marriage is arranged

as among the Santāls), the divorce ceremony comes on the top of a settlement of accounts, in which the price paid for the bride figures conspicuously. If in their "divorce court" the woman is proved guilty, the bride-price has to be paid back; if adultery is proved against her, the co-respondent is called a thief and has to pay among other things a double bride-price. If the man is guilty, the price is forfeited.

Up to the time of her marriage a Santāl girl is the "property" of her parents (father), or (if the parents are dead) of her nearest male relatives, who take charge of her. When married, she becomes the property of the family of her husband (with this one as her immediate lord and master), and this she continues to be so long as there is any one who has a right in her.

If such a state ceases, she has no longer any *locus standi*; she reverts to her original owners, if they are alive, or if none such exist any more, she becomes a piece of masterless property, utterly destitute except for what people may give her, or for what she may be able to earn through her own work.*

It is easy to understand, that under conditions as described it is difficult for a Santāl woman logically and legally, aside from personal goods, to have any proprietary rights in anything which pertains to the community, more especially in immovable properties, such as lands.

Strictly speaking, being herself owned property, she cannot well be an owner. Now although logic and theories demand this, life has brought about several exceptions, and many of the Santāls of these parts are, as a matter of fact, rather eager to give their women larger rights than they at present possess. There are several causes working together towards this result. It goes without saying that the women themselves, when

* Whilst this is the old custom there is a tendency amongst present-day Santāls in this district to reason in the following way:—We sold her (the words used at the time of marriage are: *jan ho jan toroc ho toroc le akrinketmea*, i.e., we sold the bones and ashes): but we sold her not to die but to live: she has to be supported and maintained where she goes. Consequently in case the "owners" die, she has a right to maintenance from their estate. It is only quite recently that I have heard this way of putting it. It is quite a nice legal point, and a sign of the development of minds.

occasion arises, will push their own case, or at least their own individual case.

Then we have the better instincts of the Santals, and the genuine love they have for their womenfolk.

The influence of Western civilization, as brought to them through Government, both in court-rulings and schools, is undoubtedly working this way; and lastly, but perhaps not least, should be mentioned the decided influence of Christianity through the Missions.

Women are to a certain extent permitted to own personal (i.e., movable) property. How far this went formerly, it is very difficult to have more than an opinion of. Nowadays they own money, goods and cattle. It is more than property on trust, they can dispose of it.

A father (and sometimes brothers when the father is dead) will, when the property is divided among the sons, and also at other times, give the daughters (or sisters as it may be) a cow, a goat or something to be their personal property.

If a man divorces his wife without any fault of hers, she gets a cow, a bundle of paddy, a brass cup and a cloth; that is the old rule; now this is generally not given *in natura*, but the articles mentioned are valued and money given. This money belongs to the woman and will go with her, if she remarries.

A widow without sons gets very much the same, if she is sent back to her parents or brothers; and this property will be her own.

Ornaments given to a woman are her own, provided they are not procured simply to store family money. The Santals sometimes, although not very frequently, follow the common Indian custom of investing their savings in metal ornaments. After the closing of the mints this custom is gradually becoming less frequent. Ornaments of this class are not a woman's personal property.

If a woman earns money by working, this may go to the father or relatives with whom she is living, and generally does so go; but if she provides for her food by performing work or

earns more than her food, what she gets over and above this may be capitalized by herself and is her own. What is called *ir arpa* (a small amount of paddy which serving women are permitted to reap or glean for themselves at harvest time) comes specially under this.

So far the theories may be said not to give much trouble.

It was mentioned above that a Santāl wife, in spite of her theoretically subordinate position, in practical life has a fair amount of independence, and often a position which may be said to be nearly co-ordinate with that of a man, within her own sphere.

It is a very common thing, and as experience shows, often a wise thing, for Santāls to let their wives, when these have proved their allegiance to their husbands, keep charge of the cash which may be in the house.

The wife rules the household, much like what we know from our Homelands, so far as any comparison is possible.

If a woman is left a widow with minor sons, she remains as a rule in possession of all and carries on the work and duties of her late husband, whose male relatives have a duty and right to see that nothing is squandered of the property of the minors, but who have otherwise no right to interfere.

Taking all this into consideration it is not so strange that the aspects of the rights of women have developed and are developing among the present-day Santāls.

Whatever may have been the attitude towards movables, there is no doubt that Santāl women have had no right of inheritance or occupancy with regard to cultivated lands. A landowner or tenant has, as such (i.e., as a villager), certain social and religious duties which a Santāl woman is debarred from performing on account of her sex.

Formerly it did not much matter; a girl would when married have a husband to support her; she would with such an one be just as well provided for as if she had inherited her father's land. Nowadays it is becoming different. There may be personally acquired property, the possession of which will give prospects of maintenance. It is only reasonable that Santāls should

like their own daughters, if there are no sons, to inherit their own property, with which their relatives have perhaps had no connection at all.

Now it has never entered their heads, that daughters should inherit land equally with sons; but they are willing that daughters whose husbands come and live with their parents-in-law should get a little of their land; and they are anxious, if there are no sons, that one or more of the daughters should get all the land of the father in preference to some more or less distant relations stepping in, perhaps to oust their own flesh and blood from what might support them.

They have found a way to effect this; they let a daughter inherit through a male intermediary; they marry their daughter and give the husband the position of a son, provided he lives with his father-in-law.

An ordinary marriage among the Santals is performed at the house of the bride, with feasting here and at the house of the bridegroom, the expenses being paid by each party.

If a man gets a husband for his daughter for the purpose just mentioned, he goes about it in a little different way, and gets what is called a *ghardi jāwāe*.

As previously mentioned, the legal basis of marriage among these people is the buying of the wife. She is paid for in cash. This idea is, of course, kept up, only that a *ghardi jāwāe* does not pay cash, but pays by putting in five years' work with his parents-in-law. This is not an exclusively Santal custom; Jacob paid for his two wives in the same way.

Apart from this there is some difference between the *ghardi jāwāe* marriage and an ordinary one. Usually a man seeks a wife for his son; here it is the opposite. So far as possible the girl steps into the place of the bridegroom. Absolutely all expenses are borne by the father of the girl. At an ordinary marriage the bridegroom's friends are called *bariatko*; here it is the friends of the bride who are called so. When children are born, the custom is to name the first boy with the name of the paternal grandfather, and the second one with that of the maternal

grandfather. Here the opposite is done. The maternal relations come first. It will be seen, the girl so far as possible is the principal.

It is easily understood that the position of a *ghardi jāwāe* may be felt to be a little *infra dig.*; it is—naturally—more honourable to stand one's own part of the expenses, etc. For this reason generally only sons of poor people or orphans agree to become a *ghardi jāwāe*. *

As will be understood, a *ghardi jāwāe* as such is not entitled to anything more than his wife, and is not in himself an inheritor of his father-in-law's lands.

It sometimes happens that a man with grown-up daughters and minor sons (who will be the lawful heirs) procures a *ghardi jāwāe* to get help in his agricultural work. In such cases the girl's father will set aside a bit of land for this *ghardi jāwāe* and will help him to get additional land, if possible, through the village headman. When the five years of service are over, the *ghardi jāwāe* is free to depart; he has paid for his wife.

If a man wishes his *ghardi jāwāe* to become his heir, this has to be specially arranged and publicly declared, and such is done at the time of marriage.

A marriage is, of course, a public affair, the village people, specially the headman and other officials, have to be present. What is done has their consent, and they would not ordinarily think of opposing any agreement made at the time of marriage later on.

A man with only daughters (also in case he has had sons who have died without issue) will generally arrange for one or more

* As it may be of interest, the further rules followed in connection with *ghardi jāwāes* may be stated.

At the time of marriage the girl's parents "show" the young man a calf. This becomes his personal property. Should the girl not hit it off with her husband, he will divorce her and walk off with his calf.

The girl also gets a calf at the time of marriage. She is further permitted to get *arpa*, i.e., to reap a few sheaves of paddy for herself, and this she may sell or lend out on interest.

As will be seen, the terms are fairly liberal, taking Santāl ideas into consideration.

ghardi jāwāe and also for these becoming his heirs. Such sons-in-law, will, so long as they remain, have the position of sons ; they will support and take care of the parents-in-law when they get old ; and on the death of these they get everything, except half the cattle which the brothers of the father-in-law are entitled to.

In quite recent years it has become the custom to call such an inheriting *ghardi jāwāe* a *ghar-jāwāe*, a term introduced by outsiders.

Nominally it is the son-in-law who inherits, not according to any other right, but according to an oral will (if one may use such an expression), executed at the time of marriage. Actually it is the daughter who becomes inheritor ; but as she is debarred from performing certain duties in the village, she has to have a representative, who is her husband, who stands as tenant and owner. The expectation is that the sons of the pair will be born to take up the inheritance. But if the *ghardi jāwāe* in his turn should have only daughters, he will be permitted to arrange himself with a *ghardi jāwāe* in exactly the same way.

That it is the girl for whom this arrangement is made and who is the actual heir, should not need any demonstration. If a *ghardi jāwāe* leaves, he loses his rights ; his own relatives have no rights of inheritance in his father-in-law's lands. If his wife dies, he may have a life-interest there, provided he does not remarry. The children of the *ghardi jāwāe* are in this case the real inheritors and owner.

So far all is recognized practice and custom among the Santals of the Santāl Parganās.

What has been stated does not, however, cover all cases constantly occurring.

If, for instance, a man dies leaving only daughters and without having made any arrangement for a *ghardi jāwāe*, the old rule is that the nearest male relative of the father steps in, takes over all property, also the girls and the widow (if any). Such an one may be kind, but just as often he will try to get rid of the girls as soon as possible.

It is becoming more and more felt, that this custom may involve a good deal of injustice ; the male relation may not be

a desirable person to live with, and what will happen to the widow ?

I know of cases which have been downright cruel to poor girls. On the other hand, in a few such cases relatives have been found, who, instead of taking over the land themselves, have procured *ghardi jāwāes* for the girls and permitted these to succeed to the property.

It ought perhaps to be just mentioned that the courts and the settlement have in many cases permitted daughters to get a life tenure in agricultural lands and recorded them as rayats. But very often male relatives have under some pretext or other prevented daughters from coming forward until it has been too late ; there is thus much inequality in practical life in the position of only daughters.

From what has been mentioned, it is evident that a widow is not and cannot be an heir to anything. She may own personal property and may get gifts from her relations, but land she has no claim to, not in her old home and not in her late husband's. If she has sons or even daughters, she will naturally live with these, doing what she can of work. If she has none, and her late husband's relatives refuse to keep her, she is sent away, as previously stated. The lot of widows has often been very hard.

As remarked above, the Santāls are changing and in many ways developing. They are in a small way acquiring property and see some fruits of the work of their hands. They feel that the old rules do not cover all present-day circumstances and do not always carry them satisfactorily through, and they wish something more just and advanced ; this is the case with regard to the rights of their women.

In olden times they made rules themselves ; now they look to Government for help and guidance.

It is a sign of the times (in my opinion a very encouraging one) that a number of the most prominent Santāls, when recently called together for the purpose of expressing an opinion on matters connected with their daughters and widows, unanimously agreed, that only daughters should inherit their father's land on

being married, and that widows should have the right of maintenance from the estate of their late husbands until they remarry and further be permitted to carry on their late husband's household.

ADOPTION.

Before closing I take this opportunity of mentioning another matter where there is a difference between the Santals in the Santāl Parganās and in Mānbhum.

Dr. Campbell says they do not practise adoption. Here they do. It is of very rare occurrence ; but it happens ; I have heard of one or two instances.

If a man takes a second wife and this woman has a boy by a former husband, the man may adopt this boy. He proceeds in the following way : He first informs the village headman of his intentions ; the headman then calls the nearest (male) relatives of the boy, whose consent is necessary. If these agree, they say so openly in the presence of the headman and the village people, renounce the boy and declare him henceforth to belong to the new father ; it is further declared, that the boy shall have no right of inheritance in the property of his natural father.

When this is done, the new father fixes a date for the formal adoption of the boy (it is called *bonga tala*, i.e., bring in among the *bongas*).

On that date the village people behave as at *janam chatiār* (i.e., the name-giving festival of a Santāl child). They shave and drink rice-water savoured with *nim* leaves. At a *janam chatiār* the officiating midwife tells the assembled people the name of the newborn child ; here she does not tell the name of the boy, but the sept or subsept of the adopting father, henceforth the sept of the boy.

Thereupon they let the boy eat of the flesh of animals sacrificed to the tribal gods ; he is from now one of their own.

This adopted boy will inherit equally with the natural sons of the adopting father, the only difference being that an adopted son will not have right of inheritance in the properties of the brothers of the adopting father, if such should die without issue.

II.—Totemism Amongst the Birhors.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The Birhōrs are one of the wildest among the jungle tribes of Chōtā Nāgpur. They wander about from jungle to jungle in small groups of from three or four to at most about nine or ten families, earning a precarious subsistence by hunting, by collecting *chōp* creepers (*Bauhinia scandens*) and making their barks into ropes for barter or sale in the nearest villages or markets, and by gathering beeswax and honey when available. Like the other branches of the Munḍā race, to which they belong, the Birhōrs are divided into a number of exogamous totemic clans mostly named after some animal, plant, fruit, flower or other material object. The Birhōrs have, however, preserved or developed a few interesting features in their totemism which are not to be found amongst other totemic tribes in Chōtā Nāgpur and which, so far as I know, have not been recorded of any other tribe in India.

The names of Birhōr clans or gōtras, so far as I have hitherto been able to ascertain them, are the following :—

1. Anḍi (wild cat).
2. Bōngā sāuṛi (a kind of wild grass).
3. Bhāṭ (name of a Hindu caste).
4. Bhūiyā (name of a tribe).
5. Chāuli Hembrōm (*chauli*=rice ; *hembrōm*=betel-palm).
6. Gerōa (a small bird).
7. Gidhi (vulture).
8. Guleriā (pellet-bow).
9. Hembrōm (betel-palm).
10. Hērē Hembrōm (*hērē*=rice-husk).
11. Jegseriā Lāṭhā (*latha*=a cake made of *mohua* flowers).

12. Jethseriā (name of a place).
13. Kāwan (a newt?).
14. Keōnduā (a kind of fruit).
15. Khāngār (name of a sub-tribe of the Muṇḍās).
16. Khūdi Hembrōm (*khudi* = broken grains of rice).
17. Ludāmbā (a kind of flower).
18. Lūpūng (myrobalan).
19. Maghāiā Hembrōm (*Maghāiā* = belonging to Maghā or Bihār).
20. Māhāli (name of a tribe).
21. Mūrmū (stag).
22. Mūrūm (nilgai or *Portax pictu*).
23. Nāgpuriā (belonging to the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau).
24. Sādā (white).
25. Sāunriā (a kind of wild grass).
26. Shām-jhakoā (a composition used in whetting weapons).
27. Singpuriā (*singhara* fruit or *Trapa bispinosa*).
28. Tōriār (belonging to Parganā Tōri in the Palāmau district).

A few of these names, such as Nāgpuriā and Tōriār, are derived from names of localities, whereas a few others, such as Bhūiyā, Khāngār and Māhāli, would appear to be derived from names of other tribes, with whom there are reasons to believe there have been miscegenation in the past. (1)

INDIVIDUAL TOTEMS, ETC.

Sex totems and associated totems are unknown to the Birhōrs. Nor have they any individual or personal totems, properly so called, although they have a peculiar belief of a somewhat analogous nature. When a Birhōr dreams of some bird, beast, worm, reptile, or other thing in the night, and the following morning receives a visit from some friend or relative, he at once concludes that the object of his dream, whether it be a snake or

¹ This list is not exhaustive. Sir Herbert Risley gives only eight clan names, namely, Hembrōm, Jegseriā, Māhāli, Nāgpuriā, Singpuriā, Liluāi, Nag and Siruar. I have not yet met with his last three.

an ant or even a rope or some other thing, must be the *rāis* (the 'daemon' or 'genius') of his guest.

TOTEM BADGES.

The members of a clan do not wear any badge or distinguishing emblem or peculiar dress, nor make up their hair in any distinctive fashion, nor get representations of their totem cut or tattooed on their persons or carved or painted on their houses or on any personal belongings. But, as we shall see later on, during sacrifices to the spirits known variously as 'Oṛā-bōngās' ('Home-gods'), Buru-bōngās (Hill-gods) or 'Khūnt-bhūts' (Clan spirits) some emblem of the family totem is placed by the side of the sacrificer and this emblem is always carried about with them wherever the family migrates.

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN OF PARTICULAR TOTEMS.

The few legends that the Birhōrs tell about the origin of some of their clans do not point to any belief in the descent of men from their totems. All that they indicate is that the totem plant or animal had some accidental connection with the birth of the reputed ancestor of the clan. Thus, the ancestor of the Gidhi (vulture) clan, it is said, was born under a wide-spreading tree, and, as soon as he was born, the egg of a vulture which had its nest on the overhanging branches of the tree dropped down on the babe's head from the nest. Hence the baby and his descendants came to form the Gidhi clan. Similarly the ancestor of the Gerōā clan is said to have been born under the wings of a Gerōā bird, and the ancestor of the Lūpūng clan under the shade of a *lūpūng* tree. The first ancestor of the Shām-jhākoā clan, it is said, was born at a place where people were getting their weapons sharpened. The ancestor of the Khāngār clan was born when his mother was pressing oil, and that of the Māhāli clan when his mother was plaiting a winnowing basket. The occupation of the Māhāli tribe, it may be noted, is basket-making, and the Khāngār Mundās are reputed as good oil-pressers. The Māhāli clan of the Birhōrs would appear to have originated from a cross between a Birhōr and a Māhāli as the Khāngār clan

would appear to have originated in a cross between a Khāngār Mundā and a Birhōr. The ancestor of the Bhūiyā clan is, however, said to have purchased a brass bell from a man of the Bhūiyā tribe, and thus obtained the clan name. The Chāuli Hembrōm clan is said to have been the original clan of the Birhōrs, and the ancestor of this clan, it is said, rose up from under the ground with rice (*chāuli*) on his head. Families of the Chāuli Hembrōm clan carry with them in all their wanderings one or more natural stones called Mahādeo stones believed to have risen from under ground even as their own first ancestor did, and should they happen to settle down for a time at any place, they put up these stones to the west of their settlement and there offer sacrifices to them. Men of the Hembrōm clan are believed to have uniform success in the chase and always better luck in hunting than the members of other clans. Of the Mūrūm clan it is said that when their first ancestor was born, a Mūrūm (nilgai or *Portax pictus*) came and stood by its side, and forthwith the baby jumped up and mounted the animal which rode away with it through the woods until the babe's head-dress was caught in a *chōp* (*Bauhinia scandens*) creeper and the babe dismounted to cut down the creepers. Since then, it is said, *chōp*-gathering and rope-making have become the principal occupation of the Birhōrs.

RESEMBLANCE OF MEN TO THEIR TOTEMS.

But although the Birhōrs of our days do not believe in the actual descent of a clan from its totem, they appear to find some resemblance in the temperament or the physical appearance of the members of a clan to that of their totem animal or plant. Thus, it is said, people of the Gidhi (vulture) clan have usually little hair on the crown of the head; the Anḍi gotra men have a bald forehead; members of the Lūpūng clan are generally short but plump like the *lūpūng* fruit; the Lūdāmbā gotra as well as the Mahāli gotra people are short and lean; members of the Hērē Hembrōm clan are thin and short; the Chāuli Hembrōm men often have matted hair; people of the Gerōā clan, it is said,

have generally no nails on their toes and their teeth decay prematurely; the people of the (Jegseriā) Lāṭhā clan are said to be generally tall and the hair on the sides of their head are said to fall off at an early age; people of the Mūrūm clan, who are said to be generally of medium height, and those of the Bhūiyā clan, who are said to be generally tall in stature, are both irascible in their temperament; people of the Shām-jhākoā clan are said to be generally tall and thin, and people of the Khāngār clan are said to walk with an inward bend in their legs. It need hardly be said that these fancied resemblances to their totems are more often than not discredited by facts.

TOTEM TABOOS.

As with other totemic peoples, a Birhōr must abstain from killing, destroying, maiming, hunting, injuring, eating or otherwise using the animal, plant or other object that forms his clan totem, or anything made out of or obtained from it; and, if possible, he will also prevent others from doing so in his presence. Some of the clans carry the principle to curious extremes. Thus, the men of the Mūrūm clan cover their eyes when they chance to come across a Mūrūm stag. Birhōrs of the Khāngār clan abstain from cleansing the hair of their head with oilcakes, because oil-pressing was the occupation of their Khāngār ancestors.

It is worthy of note, however, that all these totem taboos have to be strictly observed only by married men, for it is only after marriage that a Birhōr is considered to become a full member of his clan. Eating, killing, or destroying one's clan totem is regarded by the Birhōr as equivalent to killing a human member of his own clan, and the reason usually assigned by the Birhōr for abstaining from, or preventing others from, killing or destroying his totem is that if the totem animal, plant, or other object, diminishes, the clan too will suffer a corresponding decrease in number. Although it is believed that a particular clan will multiply in proportion as the totem species or class multiplies, no Birhōr clan resorts to any magical process, like the Australian *Intichiuma* ceremonies, for the multiplication of its

totem species or class. Individuals of the tribe not belonging to a certain totem do not hold those who do, responsible for the ensuring of a supply of the totemic animal or plant for their benefit, nor are the former required to obtain the permission of the latter to eat their totemic animal or plant. Marriage between persons of the same clan is considered incestuous.

Descent is reckoned in the male line and a man has the same totem as his father. The mother's, or rather the mother's father's totem is not respected; for, in fact, a female is not supposed to have any clan; she is not a recognized member either of her father's or of her husband's clan, and has not, therefore, to observe the taboos relating to their totems. She must not, however, kill the totem animal or destroy the totem plant of her husband's clan, as that would, in the Birhōr's estimation, be equivalent to killing the husband himself. When a Birhōr unwarily happens to eat, kill or destroy his totem animal or plant his clan-fellows impose on him, according to his means, a fine of either five four-anna bits, or five two-anna bits, or five annas. He is also required to provide a feast, if not to all the members at least to one member of each clan in his settlement or encampment. The spirits of the dead are not supposed to enter their totem animals nor are the spirits of a dead totem supposed to enter the wombs of the wives of men of that totem. A meeting of the totem animal is not considered to affect one's luck; nor does a Birhōr make obeisance (salāām) to his totem animal when he meets it.

Although the Birhōr does not believe that he is actually descended from his totem, yet should he ever happen to come across the carcase of his totem beast or bird, he must anoint its forehead with oil and vermilion, though he has not actually to mourn for the dead animal or bury it.

SOCIO-MAGICAL ASPECT OF BIRHOR TOTEMISM.

There is another practice connected with Birhōr totemism which, though it may at first sight appear to have a religious or magico-religious significance, would seem to be really social or socio-magical in its essence.

Every Birhōr clan has a tradition of its ancient settlement having been located in some hill or other within Chōtā Nāgpur. And once a year at every Birhōr encampment or settlement the men of each clan assemble on some open space outside their group of leaf-huts to offer sacrifices to the presiding spirit of their ancestral hill. This spirit is called 'Oṛā-bōngā' or 'home-god' by the migratory (*ūthlū*) Birhōrs and 'Buru-bōngā' or 'mountain-god' by the comparatively settled (*Jāghi*) Birhōrs. At these sacrifices, in which members of other clans may not take part, the eldest member of the clan officiates as sacrificer. A mystic diagram with four compartments is drawn on the ground with rice-flour, and in one of these compartments the sacrificer sits down with his face turned in the direction of the ancestral hill of his clan and with some emblem of his totem species placed in another compartment of the diagram. Thus the Lūdūmbā clan place a *lūdūmbā* flower before the sacrificer; the Mūrūm clan place a bit of a horn, or skin of the *mūrūm* (*nūlgāi*); the Kenduā clan place a twig of the Keond (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) tree; the Gerōā clan place a wing of the *gerōā* bird; the Anḍi clan place a bit of the skin of the Anḍi (wild cat); the Chāuli Hembrōm clan place a handful of *āruā* rice and also a hive of the *terom* fly; the Hērē Hembrōm clan place a little rice-husk; the Khūdi Hembrōm clan place some broken grains (*khūḍ*) of rice; the Shām-jhākōā place a sinṛi made of lac and sand which is used in whetting weapons; the Sāunṛiā clan place a handful of sāunṛi or wild grass; the (Jegseriā) Lāṭhā clan place a *lāṭhā* or round cake made of the corolla of the mohuā flower and rice; the Singpuriā clan place either a leaf or a stem of the *Singhārā* (*Trapa bispinosa*); the Gidhi clan place a claw or wing or feather of the *gidhi* or vulture; the Mūrmū clan place a bit of the horn or skin of the stag; the Jethseriā clan place some flower which blooms in the month of Jeth (May-June) and the sacrificer also sticks some of this flower in his ears; the Guleriā clan place a *guler* (or bow used in shooting clay balls at birds); the Tirio clan place a *tirio* or flute; the Khāngār clan place an oilcake; the Māhāli clan place a small new *supli*, or winnowing basket; the Bhūiyā clan place a brass bell; the Bhāt clan place a new winnowing basket with

new earthen vessel on it and light a fire in a small bundle of *birni* (a kind of wild grass). Men of the Sādā, or white clan, sacrifice to their Būrū-bongā with white clothes on : They do not use red lead in their *pūjās* nor do they ever dye their clothes with turmeric as other clans do at weddings, nor allow anyone wearing coloured clothes to enter their *ādīng* or inner room where the *lures*, or ancestor-spirits, are supposed to reside.

In the case of bird or beast totems, the skin, horn, claw or wing used as an emblem to represent the clan at the *pūjās* is obtained by members of the clan not by killing or destroying the bird or beast with their own hands but through men of some other clan to whom they are not taboo. And the horn, or claw, or skin, or wing, once secured, is carefully preserved in the 'spirit basket' for use at the *pūjās* as often as may be required. So intimate and vital is the connection between the clan and its totem, that the totem emblem thus used at the *pūjās* would seem to represent the clan as a whole. And the invocation at such *pūjās* begins—'Behold such-and-such (names) a clan has come to offer sacrifices to thee, O spirit of such-and-such Hill (names)'.

FEAR OF SPIRITS.

Although every Birhōr clan annually offers sacrifices to the presiding spirit of their ancestral hill, so great is their fear of the spirit that no member of a particular clan will, on any account, enter or even go within a distance of a mile or two of the hill or jungle reputed to be their former home, unless some family of their clan is still residing there and propitiating the local spirits. Even when in the course of their wanderings a group of Birhōrs may happen to come near such hill or jungle, they must turn aside and take a different route. The reason assigned for such avoidance is that the spirits of such a hill or jungle who have not had any sacrifices offered to them since the men had left the place might cause them harm for such neglect. Among these traditional homes of the different clans the following may be mentioned :—

TRADITIONAL HOMES OF THE DIFFERENT CLANS.

The Lūpūng clan had their old home at Gōsōchaingārā ; the Chāuli Hembrōm clan at Tilāiā ; the Bhūiyā clan at Dumardihā ; the

Hēṛē Hembrōm near Rāmgarh; the Maghāiā Hembrōm at Chulāhi near the source of the Dāmōdar; the Gidhi clan near Gōla; the Jegseriā Lāthā clan at Jageswar; the Singpuriā clan at Belsāgrā; the Māhāli clan at Bisā; the Tiriō clan at Narsing Nemrā,—all in the Hāzārībāgh district. The Anḍi clan had their old home near Duāru; the Lūdāmbā clan near Pāiki Lāli; the Nāgpuriā Hembrōm at Charnāberā; the Sāuriā clan at Sirūm, the Mūrmū clan near Tāimārā; the Gerōā clan at Toābā Dūlmī; the Khāngār clan near Hūānghātu and Tākra; the Sādā clan near Sōsō; the Bhāṭ clan near Piṭhoriā; the Kenduā clan near Omedāṇḍā,—all in the Rānchi district. The Shām-jhākoā clan had their former home at Heslā Dūrgūr, and the Mūrūm clan near Bukādi in the district of Mānbhum.

SUPPOSED MAGICAL POWERS OF CERTAIN CLANS.

The situation of the traditional homes of a few of the clans is believed to have endowed them with particular magical powers. Thus, the Hēṛē Hembrōm and the Khūdi Hembrōm clans are said to have powers over the weather. It is said that when high wind is approaching, if a man of either of these clans pours a jug of water either on the *thhān* (spirit-seat) or in front of the tribal encampment and orders the storm to turn aside, the storm will immediately take a different direction, and even though it may blow hard on the country all around, the hill or jungle in which these clans may be encamping will remain quite calm and undisturbed. The reason why the men of these clans are said to be the 'māliks' or masters of the storm is explained by saying that their 'Būrū-bōngās' (mountain-gods) or 'Orā-bōngās' (home-gods) are situate to the north, which is the home of storms. Members of the Jegseriā Lāthā clan, whose ancestral home and 'home-god' (Orā-bōngā) are further north than those of the Hēṛē Hembrōm and Khūdi Hembrōm clans, are credited with the power of controlling monsoon rains and high winds in the same way. But with regard to this clan, it is also said that their special power over monsoon winds and rains is derived from the spirit known as 'Blūr Dhir Pānchō

Pānṛōā, ' (2) who is the guardian of the monsoon rains and who is specially propitiated by the men of this clan at their *thhāns* or spirit-seats. It is said that monsoon winds and rains will always abate their force when they approach a settlement of this clan. Of the Kāwān clan—one of the wildest of Birhōr clans—it is said that tigers on certain occasions serve them as friends and servants. When a Kāwān woman is about to be confined, her husband makes for her a separate shed with leaves and branches in which she is left alone. As soon as a baby is born to her, a tiger, it is said, invariably enters the shed, cleanses the limbs of the baby by licking them, and opens a back door to the shed for the woman to go out and come in during her days of ceremonial taboo.

DIFFERENCES IN CUSTOMS BETWEEN THE CLANS.

In such matters as food-taboos, festivals, sacrifices and the like, there are differences in the different tribes. Thus, the Nāgpuriā clan offer an ox ; the Khāngār, Anḍi, and Shāmjhākōā clans each offer a goat ; the Lūdāmbā clan offer two goats ; the Mūrūm clan offer one chicken and one goat ; the Hēṛē Hembrōm, Chāuli Hembrōm, Khūdi Hembrōm, Maghāiā Hembrōm, the Bhūiyā, the Māhāli and the Sādā clans each offer two chickens to their respective Oṛā-bōngā or Būrū-bōngā or Khūnt-bhūt. The headman of the Lūdāmbā clan while offering sacrifices to his Khūnt-bhūt wears the Brāhmanical sacred thread, as the Sūkūnbūrū hill which is their reputed ancestral hill is supposed to be a ' Brāhman bhūt,' or the spirit of a Brāhman.

As regards festivals, the Sarhūl appears to have been adopted from their non-Birhōr neighbours by the Mūrūm, Shām-jhākōā, Gerōā, Bōngā-sāunṛi, Khāngār, Anḍi, Lūdāmbā and Sādā clans ; the Karam festival by the Shām-jhākōā, Mūrūm, Lāṭhā, Chāuli Hembrōm, Nāgpuriā, Māhāli and Gidhi clans ; the Sōhorāi festival by the Bhūiyā, Anḍi, Mūrūm,

(2) "Pancho Panrōā" appears to be a corruption of the "Pancha Pandavas" (the five sons of Pandu) of Mahābhārata fame, but is vaguely spoken of by the Birhors as a single spirit.

Shām-jhākōā, Khāngār and Gerōā clans; and the Mahādeo (charak) pūja festival in Chait (March-April) by the different subdivisions of the Hembrōm clan, and by the Bhūiyā, Lūpūng, Lāthā, Singpūriā, Jegseriā, Nāgpuriā, Maghāiā, Gidhi, Kāwān, Gulāriā, Jethseriā and Toṛiār clans. The Jitiā festival is observed by [the] Anḍi clan and the Dasāi festival by the Hembrōm clan. The Sōsō-bōngā, the Kharihān pūjā (*En pūnā*), the sowing festival (*Her pūnā*) and the Nawā-jōm (eating the new rice) festival are in vogue only among the landed (Jāgli) Birhōrs who appear to have adopted them from the Munḍās.

Although the Nawā-jōm (eating the first rice) ceremony is not observed by all the clans, they all agree in abstaining from eating the corolla of the *mohuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) until the first-fruits are offered to the ancestor-spirits (hāpṛōm). Those clans that observe the Sarhūl festival do not eat food from plates or cups made of new *Sāl* leaves until the Sarhūl ceremony is over. The Bhūiyā and Lūpūng clans as well as most of the *Uthlū* (migratory) clans abstain from eating mangoes or eating from plates or cups made of leaves of the *bar* (*Ficus Indica*) tree until the Pūjā of Mahādeo has been celebrated on the last day of Chait.

Although all the Birhōr clans agree in excluding females (with the exception of little girls who have not yet attained puberty) from their spirit-huts (bōngā-orās) and in excluding married daughters and other women not belonging to the family, from their spirit-seats (*thhāns*), and in prohibiting women from eating the head of animals caught in the chase or sacrificed to the spirits, different clans have different rules about the ceremonial pollution attaching to females during menstruation or in childbirth. Thus, among the Maghāiā Hembrōm clan, as soon as a woman menstruates a small new door is opened in the wall of the hut for her use during the next eight days, [and] she is not allowed to use the main door of the hut or to touch any food or other thing in the house or do any work, whereas in most other clans although she is not allowed to touch anything in the house

a new door is not opened for her. In addition to these restrictions, a menstruous woman of the Kāwān clan must go out of, and enter, the hut through the newly-opened doorway in a sitting posture—that is to say, on her buttocks and not on her legs.

In addition to the general rule that a married woman may not enter the spirit-huts and spirit-seats of her father's settlement some clans have special restrictions. Among the Kāwān and the Maghāiā Hembrōm clans, a married daughter is not allowed to enter her father's house at all; when she comes to her father's settlement on a visit, she sleeps in the maidens' dormitory and eats in the *angan* or open space in front of her father's hut. The daughter of a man of the Bhūiyā clan, after she has worn shell bracelets known as 'sānkha', may not enter the 'aḍing-' or inner room of her father's hut where the ancestor-spirits are supposed to reside. A parturient Birhōr woman except in the Anḍi and a few other clans has a new doorway made to her confinement room⁽³⁾ and for a certain number of days after delivery, during which her touch is taboo to others, she must use this new door only, but the number of days varies in different clans. Thus in the Ludāmbā clan the woman is allowed to use the old door after seven days from the day of delivery, in most other clans after twenty-one days, and in the Maghāiā Hembrōm clan after five weeks if the new-born baby is a female and after six weeks if it is a male. In most clans again, but not in all, long fences are put up on both sides of the pathway leading to this new door, so that the woman's dangerous shadow may not fall on other people.

In the presence of so many points of difference in custom between the different clans it is no wonder that a Birhōr should identify 'clan' with 'jāt' or caste, and that there is as yet hardly any real tribal sentiment or any cohesion between the members of the different clans. But inasmuch as members of two or three clans generally form one food-group camping together in the same ṭāṇḍā or settlement or wandering about and

(³) This practice of opening a new door to the lying-in-room for the use of the parturient woman is also in vogue among the Klāriās of the Ranchi district.

hunting in the same jungle, there has sprung up a well-recognized connection of some particular clan with certain other clan or clans. Thus, for instance, the Gerōā and Mūrūm clans are generally found associated together; the Saūñṛiā clan is usually associated with the Lūdāmbā clan; the Hērē Hembrōm with either the Gidhi or the Bhūiyā clan; the Chāuli Hembrōm with either the Nāgpuriā or the Māhāli or the Maghāiā Hembrōm clan; the Singpuriā with the Nāgpuriā clan; and the Lāṭhā Jethseriā with the Lūpūng clan. Although the Birhōrs assert that these associations of particular clans have existed from the beginning of time, there are reasons for supposing that such association originated from sons-in-law or other near relations by marriage joining the group of their fathers-in-law or other relations on the wife's side. An examination of the genealogy of the different families of a *ṭāṇḍā* shows that the two or more clans composing it have intermarried either in the present or in some past generation.

There is, as I have said, hardly any social integration between the different clans forming the tribe. Even the different families of the same clan living at a distance from one another do not recognize the idea of collective responsibility as illustrated by the law of the blood-feud but only, and that dimly, the existence of an ultimate relationship. It is only in the families composing one settlement or encampment, although generally belonging to more than one clan, that we meet with a certain amount of social solidarity. Even the birth pollution and death pollution of any family in the local settlement is shared by all the other families of the settlement to whatever clan they may belong. Although their ancestral-spirits (*hāproum*) and home-spirits (*būrū-bōngās* or *ōṛā-bōngās* or *khūṇṭ-bhuts*) are different, they join in sacrifices to the same local spirits and the same spirits of the hunt.

Although a few clans, as we have seen, are supposed to have a magical control over certain departments of nature, such power is now said to belong to them not directly on account of their totem, but on account of the situation of their traditional

home. There is no specialization of function among the different clans which are all considered as equal in rank. Members of one clan do not, however, take cooked rice from those of another clan belonging to a different *tāṇḍā*, unless some relationship, direct or indirect, can be traced between the two clans, or between one of the clans and some third clan with whom the other clan is directly or indirectly related. This is particularly noteworthy, inasmuch as a Birhōṛ has no objection to eating cooked rice and drinking water at the hands of Mundās, Santāls, Bhūiyās, Orāons and almost all other tribes and castes with the exception only of some particular communities, such as Chāmārs, Ghāsis, Dōms, Lōhārs, Oṛeās, Māhālīs, Pānṛs and Tāntīs, whom they consider as 'low castes'. Their objection to taking cooked food from Muhammadans is apparently due to Hindu influence. It may be further noted that children born of an union of a Birhōṛ woman with a man of another tribe or caste at whose hands a Birhōṛ has no objection to eat cooked rice or drink water, may be admitted to the full tribal rights of a Birhōṛ, provided they live as Birhōṛs, in a Birhōṛ *tāṇḍā*, follow their traditional occupation of rope-making and hunting and marry Birhōṛ women. It is from such unions that a few of the clans, such as the Māhālī, the Bhūiyā, the Anḍī, the Khāngār, the Gerōā and the Shām-jhākōā are said to have originated.

Such are the main features of Birhōṛ totemism so far as I have hitherto been able to ascertain them. As with most other Dravidian tribes in Chōtā Nāgpur, the Birhōṛ totemic clan is exogamous and the system of relationship is classificatory. The respect which a man owes to his totem prevents him from killing and eating it. But the respect for the totem has not, as among the Orāons, developed into anything like a worship of the totem animals or plants. The Birhōṛ has not come to regard his totem as a god but looks upon it in the light of a fellow-clansman. Although the Birhōṛ identifies himself and his fellow-clansmen with his totem, he does not, like certain Central Australian savages, occasionally kill and eat his

totem for a more complete physical identification with it. Nor does a Birhōr clan breed or tame its totemic animal.

One peculiar feature of Birhōr totemism that we have noticed is the belief in the magical power of certain clans over wind and rain. But the tribe is not at the present day, at any rate, organized, like the Arunta, as a 'co-operative supply association, composed of groups of magicians, each group charged with the management of particular departments of nature'. The totemism of the Birhōrs, as we have seen, appears to have had little influence on the growth of their religion. But the most noteworthy feature in Birhōr totemism appears to me to be the belief in the vital connection between the human clan, their totem, the hill which is reputed to have been their original home, and the presiding spirit of such hill.

III.—The Bhumij of Chota Nagpur.

By Hari Nath Ghosh, B.L.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

The Bhumij have long since been recognized as belonging to the group of tribes speaking dialects of what is now known to philologists as the Mundā linguistic family. The Mundās, the Hōs and the Santāls are the best known tribes of this group.

The Mānbhum district of the Chōtā Nāgpur Division is the principal home of the Bhumij. Out of 362,935 Bhumij living in the provinces of Bengal and Bihar, the district of Mānbhum alone accounts for 115,985. In Bengal, where they number 90,283, the Bhumij are more numerous in the districts situated in the neighbourhood of Mānbhum than in the other parts. In Chōtā Nāgpur, Mānbhum and the contiguous district of Singhbhum account for almost all the Bhumij of the division. The figures for Chōtā Nāgpur, Mānbhum and Singhbhum are as follows :—

Chōtā Nāgpur	...	165,997
Mānbhum	...	115,985
Singhbhum	...	49,071

The Bhumij, otherwise known as the Bhumij-Kōls, are ethnologically the most interesting tribe of Mānbhum. They occupy the southern and south-western parts of the district. They are more numerous in the fiscal divisions of Pātkum, Bāghmundi and Barābhum than in other parts. In other parts of the district, too, one may come across influential landed proprietors and substantial *raiyats* of the Bhumij caste, though some of them now pretend to be of Chhatri or Rājput descent.

The Bhumij are believed to be the earliest settlers of the southern part of Mānbhum; and Colonel Dalton is right when he observes that the tableland lying between the Kāsāi and

the Subarnarekhā rivers marks the real home of the Bhumij in Mānbhum.* It is believed on all hands that it is the ancestors of the Bhumij tribe who for the first time turned the virgin forests of this Bhumij land into human habitation. The very name of the tribe "Bhumij" (literally, the earth-born) indicates that it is they who for the first time broke the rocky soil of this district and converted it into arable fields.

It has, moreover, been everywhere observed that the Bhumij are, as a rule, the founders of all ancient villages in the Bhumij part of Mānbhum. Many a village situated in this locality bears unmistakable testimony to its having been founded by the Bhumij peasantry. Names of such villages as Buruhātu (meaning a village situated on a hill) and Sārjamhātu (meaning a village abounding in Sāl trees) may be quoted as instances in point. The word "Bhumij" thus corresponds to the Bhūihār of the Munḍā country. In fact, it seems probable that the Munḍās continued to live long on the plateau of Chōtā Nāgpur where their progeny multiplied. Then a section of the race came upon the adjoining plains with the object of finding for themselves and their children a more fertile tract better suited to agriculture. The Bhumij of Mānbhum represent the descendants of those emigrants.

In physical appearance the Bhumij resemble the Munḍās and the Hōs very closely. Like them, the Bhumij have a dark-brown complexion, thick nose and lips, a low facial angle, broad and well built chest, strong muscles, well-formed hands and feet, thick-set hair, and a generally healthy appearance. They are rather short in stature.

II.—BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES.

On the occasion of a childbirth among the Bhumij, if the child happens to be a male the females of the house will at once strike a rod against some bell-metal utensil in order to notify the birth to the neighbours. This to some extent resembles the practice of blowing a conch-shell prevailing among the Hindus on a similar occasion. It is believed by the Bhumij that the sound of bell-metal reaching the ears of the new-born

* *Ethnology of engal*, p. 173.

babe serves to make him brave and free from nervousness in advanced age. It is not, however, necessary to produce any such sound on the birth of a female child.

The Ghāsi or Hāri woman who usually serves as a *dāi*, or midwife, in a Bhumij family, will then make preparations for cutting the umbilical cord. She will place a ligature with the aid of woman's hair at a distance of about half an inch from the root and then cut the cord with the sharp end of an arrow. The use of an arrow-head on this occasion serves, it is said, to instil courage into the heart of the child. Other castes and tribes use either a sharp knife or a piece of split bamboo for this purpose. But in the case of a Bhumij the use of an arrow-head is imperative. The arrow, the favourite weapon of the tribe, plays a part, as will be seen, not only at birth but also at the marriage and the death of a Bhumij.

The placenta and the umbilical cord are then placed in a new earthen vessel and buried in a hole dug in the courtyard opposite the entrance to the lying-in-room with a heavy piece of stone placed upon it. Special care is always taken to see that these remains may not be devoured by an animal or removed by any malicious human being. An injury to these remains always means an injury to the child and its mother. The witches, who are pretty numerous in all Bhumij and Santāl villages, can work untold misery to the child and its mother if they can lay their hands on these remains. On one occasion the writer had a talk with an old Bhumij on the utility of thus preserving the placenta. When told about the utter futility of bestowing so much care on the preservation of these remains the old man replied, "Don't you know the simple truth that if of two twin brothers one gets drowned in a pool of water the other too will instantly die of suffocation even without any apparent cause for the same? If therefore the placenta and the umbilical cord, which are parts of the body of the mother and her child be subjected to misuse, how will they at all prosper?"

The *dāi*, or midwife, who combines in herself the vocations of a nurse with those of a physician will then take all

possible care of the patients placed in her charge. The child will be washed in tepid warm water during winter or rains and in cold water in summer. She will then continue for several days, usually nine, to rub the bodies of the baby and its mother with hot mustard oil. During these days a furnace is kept blazing in the lying-in-room in the early and the closing hours of night. Morning and evening the *dāi* will dip her thumb in a pot of mustard oil, heat it in the furnace and then apply the same on the ulcer produced by a cutting of the cord. In two or three days the stump of the cord dries up and the ligature drops down. It is then carefully picked up and buried in a corner of the room. For the care that the *dāi* bestows on a new-born babe she is ever afterwards known as its *dāi-mā* (i.e., the midwife-mother).

For the first two days after childbirth the mother is not allowed to take even a drop of water far less any other food or drink. After the profuse loss of blood she may cry for a little water to drink but the women of the family with the irresistible *dāi* at the head will stop her and keep her completely starving. On the third day she is allowed to eat fried *chura* and a little soup obtained by boiling *kurthi* in water. On the fourth day the mother is allowed to take rice with the soup of *kurthi*. All this time the child is made to live on cow's milk.

On the morning of the ninth day the ceremony known as *nārtā* or *nortā* takes place; on this occasion the agnates and other relatives and even men of other castes with whom the family may be on terms of intimacy are invited. The principal officers who serve the family on this occasion are the barber and the washerman. The barber will first of all pare the nails of the child and its mother, who will next be anointed with oil and powdered turmeric by the *dāi*. Then the guests will get themselves shaved and have their bodies rubbed with oil and turmeric. The agnates of the child who must have abstained from cleansing their linen ever since the birth of the child will have their apparel washed by the washerman on this day.

In the case of richer families musicians will play upon their drums and flutes during the whole ceremony. There is also a distribution of *muri* (fried rice) and *gūr* (molasses) among the guests. The poorer people however—and unfortunately the masses of the Bhumijs are very poor—content themselves with the necessary ceremony of shaving, having their apparel washed, and anointing themselves with oil and turmeric.

The agnates of the child remain unclean for these nine days. During these days they are not allowed to perform any religious rite. Other people of the caste will also hesitate to take any meal touched by any of the agnates during these days. With the ceremony of *norīā* duly performed all except the child and its parents are restored to a condition of cleanness. These three persons, however, continue unclean for twenty days. On the twenty-first day of its birth the child, as also its parents, are again shaved and have themselves rubbed with oil and powdered turmeric. A purificatory bath after the above ceremony shake off uncleanliness out of them.

During this period the services of another functionary may sometimes become necessary. This is the village *ojhā* who is sometimes known as a *sōkhā*. Numerous spirits intent on working evil to mankind hover about every human dwelling. There are also witches who take an intense pleasure in doing mischief to their neighbours. I propose to describe the supposed misdeeds of these evil spirits and witches more fully hereafter. It may suffice here to add that they cherish, as every Bhumijs believes, a peculiar fondness for working harm to new-born babes. So every distemper in a child or its mother is unanimously ascribed to the influence of these enemies of mankind. The *ojhā* is not only a doctor so far as these distempers are concerned, but he can commune with the unseen spirits. He can utter incantations that are intended to terrify or turn out the spirits and baffle all efforts of the witches. Sometimes the *ojhā* gives mesmerized water, or mustard seeds purified by his *mantras* or incantations. These may be sprinkled at the door of the lying-in-room or on the person of his patients with a view to drive off the spirits.

Whatever may be the drawbacks of such a method of treatment it must be said to the credit of the *ojhā* that the remedies used by him are most inoffensive and do not in any way serve to augment the malady. In the case of a mother who has lost any previous child in infancy the services of the *ojhā* are sometimes engaged from the very birth of the child. The skill of the *ojhā* may sometimes be gathered from the fact that not infrequently he causes a torn shoe or a broomstick to hang from the door or the walls of the convalescent room in order to terrify the evil spirits.

Bhujnā.—In the sixth month of a child's birth it is usual to perform the ceremony of *bhujnā*, or first rice. A Bhumij unless he be very rich will not on this occasion consult an astrologer to appoint a date for this purpose, but will fix it with reference to his own convenience. On that day the nails of the child are pared by the family barber and its body rubbed with oil and turmeric. The child is then washed in a neighbouring tank and a piece of new cloth is put round its loins. Then in the best room of the house the following articles are arranged in order :—

- (1) a quantity of paddy,
- (2) boiled rice in a plate,
- (3) a piece of silver, preferably a coin,
- (4) a *poiā*, or a brass pot for measuring paddy,
- (5) a gold ring,
- (6) a ball of cowdung.

The child is then let loose among these articles. If his hands first touch the *poiā*, it indicates that the child will succeed in life as a *mahajan*, or money-lender. If he touches the ball of cowdung, his fortune will be supposed to lie in the direction of breeding cattle. In case he touches paddy or rice, he will excel in husbandry. If, however, his hands fall on gold or silver he will become a moneyed man. These tests are supposed to reveal the future life of the child. The result of this test is, however, readily forgotten and no great importance is ever attached to it.

After the above ceremony is over, the relations think of giving a name to the child. It may be of interest to see what

considerations influence the minds of the people in fixing a name. If the child is born on a Wednesday (*Budhbār*) the child is usually called Budhu or Budhni according to the sex. A child born in the Bengali month of Jeth (May-June) is sometimes named Jethua. Similarly one born in the month of ²Bhādra (August-September) is named Bhādua and one born in ³Aghrān (November-December) is named Aghnu. The thirteenth day of Jeth is considered an important day by the agricultural population of the district. This day is called the day of Rohin, and it is on this day that the first sowing of rice crop takes place. A child born on this auspicious day is always named Rohin or Rohina.

In certain Mundāri families in the fiscal division of Bāgh-mundi there prevails the custom of naming the eldest son after its grandfather. Thus Lagua's son Bharat will call his eldest son by the name of Lagua. Again the eldest son of this second Lagua will have the name of Bharat given him. This practice prevails more extensively among the Santāls. There is reason to believe that both the Bhumijs and the Santāls have borrowed the practice from some of the ancient ruling families of the district. This practice once prevailed among the Greeks. It may be of interest to trace its origin and development among the aborigines of Mānbhum. However, the practice is confined only to certain families.

After the child is thus given a name, the grandmother or, in her absence, the paternal aunt or, failing her, some elderly female relative will put rice into the mouth of the child. This completes the ceremony of *bhujna*, or first rice.

Kānbīndhā.—The last of these childhood ceremonies is called *kānbīndhā*, or ear-boring. The *kānbīndhā* ceremony duly performed serves to initiate the child to the dignity of the tribe. It takes place in the early months of the fourth year. The restrictions about food and drink are not enforced so long as this ceremony remains unperformed. Among some castes in this district the proper initiation takes place only at marriage. The Bhumijs, however, perform it at a much earlier period of life.

On the day of *kānbīndhā* the courtyard is cleansed and painted with rice powder dissolved in water. In the centre of the courtyard is placed a wooden board or *pirā* painted as above. The child is made to rub his body with oil and turmeric and take his bath in a neighbouring tank. He then wears a new cloth and takes his seat on the board. The paternal or maternal uncle of the child then perforates the ears with the thin end of a copper ring and places one ring on each ear. Then a fowl is killed by throwing it against a stone. The friends and relations of the family are usually entertained at a dinner consisting of boiled rice and meat curry. This done the child become a member of the caste and is made to obey all the restrictions about food and drink.

In different local areas these ceremonies are performed with occasional differences of details. Some families of Bhumij have within recent times begun to wear the sacred thread and to imitate some of the Brāhmanical rites. Such families, however, are very few in number and form an insignificant fraction of the tribe.

III.—RITES AND CEREMONIES OBSERVED AT MARRIAGE.

The Bhumij are divided into various septs or *gotras*. The names of some of these septs are as follow :—

- (1) Bhuṅga (a kind of fish).
- (2) Sānṛi (a kind of bird).
- (3) Gūlgū (Sāl fish).
- (4) Jaṛoo (a bird).
- (5) Hāṁsdā (a wild duck).
- (6) Hemrom (an areca nut).
- (7) Jūgi (a bird).
- (8) Bāddā (a kind of worm).
- (9) Sāndilyā (a kind of bird).
- (10) Vārāhá (a wild pig).
- (11) Nāg (a serpent).
- (12) Kāshyāpā (a tortoise).
- (13) Tessa (a kind of bird).
- (14) Hāta (leather).
- (15) Maroum (a sheep).

Thus, an animal or some material object often represents the clan or *gotra* of the Bhumij. The Bhumij regard with a peculiar awe the totem object or animal representing his clan or sept.

Each Bhumij clan is exogamous. A nuptial union between persons belonging to the same clan is considered incestuous by the tribe.

In olden times the actual parties to the marriage used to select his or her partner in life. They used in those days to marry after attainment of maturity as the Santāls in many places still do. But now child marriage has been in universal fashion among the Bhumij of Mānbhum.

Marriage among the Bhumij is attended with elaborate ceremonies extending over a pretty long time.

Proposal.—The relatives of the boy and the girl will first of all discuss among themselves the desirability or otherwise of the proposed match. If the relatives of the boy approve of the match they will at the first instance proceed to see the girl. On this occasion the father or guardian of the boy will in no case join the party. If the party thus sent approve the match, the boy's father will then send a formal invitation to the girl's people to come to his place and see the boy. Upon this invitation the bride's party, including her father or guardian, will visit the bridegroom's house and see the boy. In case the bride's party after due inspection approve the union the negotiations for bride's fee or *pān* will commence.

Bride's fee or pān.—The discussion in this matter is carried on in a curious way among the Bhumij. The bride's father will deliver over to the boy's father some pieces of goat's dung contained in a cup made of *sāl* leaves. The number of rupees he demands will be equal to the number of pieces of goat's dung found in the cup. The boy's father will count the pieces, throw away some and keep only as many as will represent the number of rupees he intends to pay. If the boy's father wants to deliver any cattle in exchange for any part of the fee he will prepare figures of cattle with *sāl* leaves and place them in the leaf-cup or *ḍonā*. The cup will thus be thrice exchanged between the parties and

the price will be fixed in the last round. When the price is thus settled the guardians of the boy and girl will come to the assembled relatives clasping each other's hand.

One of the relatives assembled on the occasion will then ask, "You clasp each other's arm. Do you mean to fight a duel and that in the presence of so many gentlemen?"

To this the boy's father will first reply by saying,

"Well, I am going to lose (i.e., give in marriage) a son."

The bride's father will follow by saying,

"Well, I am going to lose a daughter."

Then the same relative who first spoke will again ask,

"Under what penalty and to whom in case of a breach?"

The answer will invariably be,

"Fifty Rupees to the Raja (meaning the landlord) and an equal sum to the castemen."

This promise means that the party who after that solemn declaration recedes from the agreement will have to pay the penalties named above. It is seldom that the parties after having gone so far ultimately break their promise. But in rare cases when such breach becomes inevitable neither the landlord nor the castemen have been known to take steps for enforcing the promise made in their favour. From the formality still employed it can, however, be inferred that in olden times some fines used to be inflicted on the contracting parties in case of a breach. All that now takes place is a suit in the Civil Court for damages by the aggrieved party.

It may, however, be of interest to narrate here that the *pān* now varies from twelve to thirty rupees. The oldest men affirm that in their childhood the usual price of a girl was Rs. 3 which had however to be determined in the above way. With the rise in prices all round the price of a bride too has increased.

On the conclusion of the agreement the boy's father will pay at least a part of the fee then and there and ask the friends and relations of the parties to bless his son.

The girls of the village will then assemble and rub the body of the boy with oil and powdered turmeric. The boy will

then be taken to some neighbouring tank or river and made to take his bath there. The courtyard of the bridegroom will instantly be painted white with rice powder dissolved in water. In the centre of the yard the boy will be seated on a wooden board painted as above. Here the bride's party will be introduced. On their arrival the boy will at once rise from his seat and wash the feet of his intended father-in-law with water containing powdered turmeric. After performing this rite he will again take his seat upon the board when the girl's father will bless him by touching his head with the palm of his hand and placing before him in a leaf-cup some *pāns* (betel-leaves), *supāri* (areca nut), a piece of sandal-wood, and some coin, usually an eight-anna bit. The girls will during this ceremony sing their favourite song,

Haradi, haradi pūra Pātanā
 Agūrū Chandanā.
 Chandanā kātī kere Māṇṇā
 Pústārī rāngā jai ūbātānāre

Meaning :—

“The city of Patna⁽¹⁾ is full of turmeric and sandal-wood. The platform has been made of sandal-wood and the courtyard has become beautifully decorated with rice powder dissolved in water.”

This done the boy's father will invite the party to a dinner. The invitation is readily accepted. As taking a bath is necessary before taking a meal, the boy's father generally places a pot of oil before the relatives saying, “A big crocodile has made its appearance in the river. Will it not suit you to go and see it? Here is the oil to be rubbed on your persons before going down into the river.”

The dinner on this occasion consists of boiled rice and meat curry which the Bhumijs heartily enjoy. During every solemn feast a number of goats must invariably be killed and cooked.

(¹) It is not unlikely that ‘pura pātanā’ may mean simply ‘the city.’ Such reduplications as ‘pura’ (city) and ‘pattana’ (city) are not uncommon in the songs of the Munda-speaking tribes. Or perhaps there may have been a local name of that name in the land of the Bhumijs.

Among richer people it is customary to take the relatives to an enclosure for goats and to ask them to choose the animals to be slain. The animals chosen by the relatives are ungrudgingly slain for their food.

Ceremonies connected with Lagan.—The day of marriage is usually fixed on the day the child is blessed as described above. Three, five, seven, or nine days before the marriage the father of the bridegroom with some friends will proceed to the bride's house to bless her and bring what is known as *lagan* or day of marriage. The total number of men taking part in this ceremony may not be less than three. Usually five men form the party on this occasion.

On this occasion, as in the case of blessing the boy, the girl is anointed with oil and powdered turmeric and made to take her bath in some river or tank. She is then seated on a wooden board in the centre of her courtyard painted with rice powder as already described. Here she is blessed by the bridegroom's party who usually bring her the following presents :—

- (1) A *sāri* (or wearing cloth).
- (2) A pair of bracelets made of conch-shell.
- (3) One wooden comb wherewith to dress her hair.
- (4) One looking-glass.
- (5) Oil and powdered turmeric contained in leaf-cups.

On this occasion a quantity of rice, one areca nut, a piece of turmeric root and a number of mango leaves and *durbā* grass are tied together in a piece of new cloth dyed with turmeric. There must be as many mango leaves and *durbā* grass as there are days remaining before marriage. The bundle will also have to be tied by as many knots as there are days remaining before marriage. This is known as *lagān pūntli* or bundle of marriage day. The bride's father will deliver this bundle to the girl who will make it over to her intended father-in-law. The party will then return after taking dinner, consisting of boiled rice and meat curry.

Great rejoicings will commence at the boy's house when the party returns with *lagan*. A few women will always go out to

meet the party and receive the precious bundle. With song and music the women will carry home the bundle and place it in a conspicuous part of the house. One of the knots will be ceremoniously untied every day in the midst of tumultuous rejoicings.

On the bridal day the female relatives of the boy will amidst music, both vocal and instrumental, go out in a procession to some neighbouring tank or river to fetch water for the ablution of the bridegroom. The party will invariably carry a sword and a bow and arrows as a necessary rite in connection with the ceremony. The boy will then be rubbed with oil and powdered turmeric and bathed in water thus procured amidst songs sung by the women of the family and neighbourhood.

The boy and the girl as well as their respective parents will remain fasting on the day of marriage.

Am-bīāhā.—Formerly, it is said, this ceremony used to be performed with great pomp. But now the process has become much simpler. Before proceeding to the bride's place the boy as well as his mother are made to sit before a mango tree. The tree is painted with rice powder dissolved in water and vermilion. Then a tender twig is broken from the tree which the boy touches with his lips. This twig he then hands over to his mother who chews part of it and then throws it away. The mother then asks her boy,

"Where do you go with so much pomp?"

The invariable answer is,

"To fetch a female servant for you, mother."

It is difficult to make out the actual significance of this *ām-bīāhā* ceremony. The bride, however, in her turn performs a similar ceremony. As soon as the bridal party reaches her house she with her mother and other female relatives go to a neighbouring mango tree. The tree is painted with rice flour and vermilion and there the mother and the girl take their seats. The girl touches a mango twig with her lips which her mother chews with her teeth and throws away. This done they return home to take part in the actual wedding ceremony.

When the bridegroom and his party arrive at the house of the bride they are taken to the *māroā*, i.e., a platform roofed over with the green leaves and branches of *sāl* tree. Here the boy is ceremoniously received by the females with lighted torches in hand. He is seated in a part of the *māroā* painted with rice flour. He is then given a quantity of *gūr* (molasses) and water wherewith to refresh himself after a whole day's fasting. The boy is kept waiting until the girl returns from *ām-bībākā*. Then the boy is asked to look for the girl. He directs his steps towards the inner apartment of the house but is stopped at the entrance by the girl's father. He has then got to deliver over to him a piece of *sāri* (wearing cloth) for the girl and another piece for her mother. When this is done the brothers of the girl carry her in a bamboo-basket to the *māroā*. The brothers generally demand something for carrying the girl. When they are paid a paltry sum of two annas or four annas they place the basket containing the girl near the seat of the bridegroom in the *māroā*.

The priest then utters *mantras* and binds yellow cords round the right wrists of the boy and girl. The boy then paints the forehead of the girl with consecrated vermilion and places an iron bangle on her wrist. The girl in her turn puts a mark of vermilion on the forehead of her husband. In certain parts there was formerly a practice of extracting a little blood from the fingers of the bridal pair and to produce a mark on the forehead of each with the blood of the other. This was a symbol for making them of the same blood. Now, however, in some places the pared nails of the bridegroom are made to touch the forehead of the bride.

Then a screen is placed between the boy and the girl. They are made to sprinkle water on each other over this screen. This done, the priest makes the couple walk seven steps. These ceremonies solemnly gone through, the pair become husband and wife.

At Monglā.—This is the last of the ceremonies attending a marriage, and takes place on the eighth day. On this occasion the bridegroom and the bride go for a bath in some tank or river.

The boy is armed with bow and arrows and the girl carries a pitcher on her head. Another woman carries a quantity of *gūr* in a cup. On their way home from the tank or river the bridegroom occasionally shoots an arrow at some object on the way. The bride hastens forward, collects the arrow and the object shot at. She places the arrow in her husband's hand, puts some *gūr* and a little water from her pitcher in her beloved's mouth and preserves the game in her cloth. This nice ceremony beautifully illustrates the character of the tribe and shows the rôle each had to play in life. If manly acts, such as shooting games, are expected of the husband, it is the duty of the wife to serve her partner in life during need and help him in his heroic acts of every-day life.

I have observed in an early part of this section how child marriage among the Bhumij is an innovation introduced among them after their conversion to Hinduism. In the wild parts of the fiscal division of Barābhum one may occasionally come across unmarried women aged twenty or twenty-five. No penalty is inflicted by society upon parents for their inability to procure a match for their grown-up daughters.

I have outlined in the foregoing paragraphs the rites and ceremonies generally observed at a marriage among the Bhumij. But the form described above is not the only form of marriage recognized by the tribe. Grown-up bachelors and maids have still a somewhat free hand in choosing their partners in life. The man and woman in such a case sometimes agree between themselves to contract a marriage. After this agreement they secretly meet at an appointed place where the man places an iron bangle on the forearm of the woman and paints her forehead with vermilion. This done, they instantly become man and wife. All that is necessary to secure the recognition of society to such a marriage is to pay a little fine to the castemen and the bride's fee to her father. Such marriages, though not very general, are not infrequent among the Bhumij living in the wild and jungly parts of Barābhum.

In case an unmarried girl becomes big with child her fellow-tribesmen meet together, inquire after the man concerned

and compel him to take the woman as a wife. No stigma or social disability attaches either to the man or woman after the woman is thus handed over to her secret lover. These forms of marriage are, however, becoming rarer every day. But nevertheless excommunication from the pale of society is by no means a penalty inflicted on a party who is thus joined to his or her beloved.

It may very well be inferred that the latter classes of marriage were in vogue among the tribe before it became Hinduized.

IV.—DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE OF WOMEN.

The marriage tie among the Bhumij, as among other Dravidian tribes, is extremely loose; and either of the parties may at his or her pleasure untie the bond. Cruelty on the part of the husband, or his inability to maintain a wife, or his attachment to some other woman, as also infidelity on the part of the woman, are among the causes that usually lead to a divorce. When the husband happens to be the aggrieved party he takes back by force the iron bangle given at marriage; and when the wife happens to be the aggrieved party she takes her iron bangle and throws it at her husband. This done, the marriage tie is dissolved and the parties become free to contract a fresh marriage. Usually the divorce takes place before the birth of a child. A divorce after the birth of a child is of rare occurrence, though the Bhumij never fail to recognize it.

A widow or a divorced wife irrespective of age or other conditions of life may take a second husband. The form of remarriage is known as *sāṅgā* marriage. It is usual for the parties to such a marriage to enter into an agreement to marry without the mediation of any friend or relatives. When the parties thus agree to remarry they meet at an appointed place. The husband places an iron bangle, the symbol of marriage, on the wrist of his wife in the presence of some castemen. This done they become legally wedded husband and wife. The children of a remarried woman enjoy all the privileges of children born in regular wedlock and inherit their father's property.

It may here be noted that the most suitable husband for a widow is her late husband's younger brother. On the death of

her husband, the widow, if she has no mind to marry anybody else, will cling to her late husband's younger brother. The younger brother will in such a case consider it to be his bounden duty to marry the widow. A great social opprobrium will attach to the man who refuses to take as a wife the widow of his deceased elder brother. Ancient Sanskrit literature gives instances of such unions among the non-Aryan savages. From these it is clear that this custom prevails from time immemorial. In fact, the Bhumij consider the taking of a brother's widow for a wife as a moral obligation.

V.—FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Bhumij as a rule burn their dead and bury a part of the remains in the *Shāshān* or *Hārshālī*. Now it is usual with all the Bhumij to cremate the body on the bank of a river or streamlet. But not long ago it was customary with certain families to burn the dead on a tanṛ or high land, or in a paddy field or even in the land adjoining the homestead of the deceased. In the selection of a crematorium each family was governed by its own special custom. However, the race now prefer carrying their dead to the bank of a river or *jorē*.

The Bhumij wash the body with cold water and cover it over with a piece of new cloth. The body is then mounted on a pile of wood. The eldest son of the deceased then gets a twig of mango or *palās* tree covered with a piece of new cloth which he gets soaked with *ghee* (clarified butter). This twig is then ignited and applied thrice to the mouth of the deceased. This done, the son proceeds straight to his own home. The friends and relatives of the deceased will then ignite the pile and, when the body is reduced to ashes, will place a part of the remains in a new jar which they will carry to the house of the deceased. Here the jar will be kept hanging from the roof of his bedroom for three days, and on the fourth day they will procure a big slab of stone and carry it to the burial ground of the family. Then a procession will be formed at the house of the deceased in the following order :—

- (1) A man at the head of the party will throw *khoi* (fried paddy).

- (2) A man carrying bow and arrow will follow him.
- (3) Behind this man the daughter or the brother's daughter or, failing either, some other woman of the family will carry on her head the jar of remains covered up with a new sheet of cloth and profusely adorned with garlands and wild flowers.
- (4) Behind the relics the drummers will continue to beat their drums.
- (5) The friends, relatives and men of the village will form the rear-guard.

In this order the procession will proceed to the burial ground. Here the remains will repose in the bosom of the earth by the side of his forefathers. A huge block of stone, already procured, will then be placed over these buried remains to protect them from the ravages of animals, as also to mark the spot to the members of the bereaved family. This is the prescribed way in which the remains of the dead are preserved in the family *skūshān*.

Mourning and Srāddh.—Like many Hinduized aborigines, the Bhumijs observe mourning for ten days counted from the date of death. On the eleventh day they perform the *srāddh* of the deceased ancestors in a way befitting their condition in life. Degraded Brāhman̄s officiate as priests on this occasion. The ceremony closely resembles that observed by the *Sudras* in Bengal.

IV.—Ho Folk-lore.*

II.—By Sukumar Haldar, B. A.

10.—A HE-GOAT'S BLUFF.†

A man went to market and bought a he-goat for sacrificial purposes. It was long-legged, long-bearded, and long-horned. In the rains he took it with his cattle into the jungles to graze at large. The place was hilly and one day the rain poured in torrents. The he-goat took refuge in a cave which was a tiger's dwelling-place, while the rest of the herd returned to the fold. The tiger came home in the afternoon and found the long-bearded he-goat standing at his doorway. Said the tiger:—"O you long-legged one, O you long-bearded one, O you long-horned one, O you who are perpetually chewing the cud! whence have you come and what is your errand?" The he-goat replied:—"I have made a meal of all your brood. You alone are left. Now, then, let me taste your flesh." The sight of the strange animal had already terrified the tiger and the utterance of this ominous threat was the signal for his precipitate flight. The tiger never turned to look back until he met a jackal, who thus addressed him:—"What is the matter, grand-dad (*tāṭāng*)? What are you flying from in soundignified a manner?" After hearing the tiger's story he said:—"You have been imposed upon, grand-dad, and that by an impudent goat. Come with me. You will dispose of him in a trice." Said the tiger:—"It is quite easy for you to boast behind his back. To act on your advice would be for me to court my own death, for you will show a clean pair of heels as soon as you come in sight of his terrible mien." Said the jackal:—"Here then is a compact, grand-dad. If you take me for such

* Continued from Volume I, Part II, page 273 of this Journal.

† A folk tale very similar to this is well known in Bengal.

a coward that I will fly at sight of that miserable goat you, bind me with your tail so that I may not fly." The tiger tied his own tail fast to the jackal's and the two went together to the cave. The he-goat said as they came near :—"Grand luck for me. I will have two for dinner, not one." The tiger ran for all he was worth and the poor jackal which was dangling behind got tossed about from rock to rock and soon his head was reduced to a pulp and he died. The tiger left the place for good and the he-goat remained in undisputed possession of the cave.

11.—A CRAB SATI. *

It was the time when cultivators mend their field partitions, or *āris*, preparatory to ploughing. A strapping Ho youth went to his field in the morning, placed his flute (*ruṭu*), guitar (*banam*) and wrap on an *āri* and proceeded to trim and dress the *āri* with his spade. A she-crab who dwelt in a hole at the foot of the *āri*, saw the youth, and falling in love with him, had recourse to the following stratagem. While the young man was engrossed in his work she stealthily removed his things from the *āri* to her hole. When it was time to go home the young man missed his things and was puzzled as to what had become of them. Seeing the she-crab he inquired of her and she said :—"Don't worry, I have got them." He asked her to return his things. She told him that he must enter her parlour in order to take his things away. He refused to enter the hole and she would not let him have his things except on that condition. As it was getting late and he was hungry after his long toil there was nothing for him but to go home without his cloth and musical instruments. His mother offered him rice and *diang* (rice beer), but he was glum and moody and refused all food and drink. She asked what ailed him and then he told her about his troubles and said he would not touch a morsel of food until all his things were brought back to him. His mother hastened to the field and interviewed the she-crab and told her it was a matter of

* This story (like many others) illustrates the strong influence of Bengali and Oriya folk stories in Kolhan. A striking example is afforded by story No. 16 *post* which seems to be a wholesale adaptation of a Bengali nursery tale.

life and death as her son would take no food until his things were restored to him. "Don't worry, dear mother-in-law," said the she-crab, "his things are quite safe in my keeping. Send him to me and let him take his things away." The old woman went home and delivered this message to her son. The young man went again to his field, but as the she-crab still insisted upon his entering her hole and he was equally determined not to enter, he had to come away; disappointed once more. As the youth continued his fast his relatives met together and held a consultation and decided upon a novel plan. They lit a great bon-fire and under their instructions the youth's mother proceeded to the she-crab's hole with all demonstrations of woe, striking her chest and pulling about her dishevelled hair and she thus spoke:—"You have deprived me of my child. He refused to take any nourishment, and now there you see his funeral pyre blazing high." The she-crab got out of her hole and stood on tip-toe, the better to see the fire. Convinced that the object of her affection was no more she was overcome with grief and she cried, while violently beating her breast:—

Hāe nerelām bāgenadingdo, nerelām bāgenādingdo.

Rorō kānkāra nerelām bāgenādingdo.

Rorō junjuri junjuri nerelām bāgenādingdo.

Translation.

"O my husband, you have left me behind. A full-formed crab am I with all my limbs intact. And yet have you left me behind. O my husband is gone!"

Placing the youth's cloth and his musical instruments on her head she went on lamenting loudly and proceeded in the direction of the fire. To the surprise of all the spectators she flung herself into the fire and immolated herself like a true *Sati* on what she believed to be her husband's funeral pyre.

It is believed that this has given rise to the practice of roasting live crabs for food.

12.—A WOMAN'S TONGUE.

There was a Gonṛ who used to tend the cattle of the villagers. Near his house there was a stone Lingam (phallus)

representing the god Mahādeo. It was his daily practice, when he returned home at noon with his herd to strike the Lingam with his stick before sitting down to breakfast. One day he forgot his usual practice and only remembered the omission after having partly eaten his meal, and then he jumped up and taking his stick in his left hand went out to strike the Lingam. He was thus addressed by Mahādeo :—"Your hands are unwashed. Do not defile me by touching me with your unwashed hands.* I am ready to give you a boon if you keep your hands off me." The result was that Mahādeo conferred upon the Goṇṛ the faculty of understanding the speech of all living beasts and the man returned to his meal without striking the Lingam. Mahādeo warned him that the moment he disclosed the secret to any one he would die. Next morning the Goṇṛ took his herd across a river. Soon after it came on to rain heavily. Apprehending a flood he hastened to recross the river with his cattle. A calf which had been lying asleep under a tree was overlooked and the rising flood cut it off from the rest of the herd. It came up to the brink of the river and cried aloud to its dam :—"Mother, you have left me behind and I will die of cold." Its dam said :—"No harm will come to you. Lie down between those two trees yonder. Two pitchers full of coins are buried there. The place will afford plenty of warmth." The wonderful gift which he had obtained from Mahādeo enabled the Goṇṛ to understand the conversation. When he went home he cudgelled his brains to find out some means of securing the hidden treasure. He was afraid to bring the money home lest his wife should bruit it abroad, and he should be hauled up before the Rājā. As a preliminary step he proposed to put his wife's secretiveness to the test, and he told her that the Rājā's wife had been brought to bed of a young crow, that the matter was strictly confidential and that she was not to mention it to any one. His wife communicated the strange story to the first woman she met at the village well. It was not long before the report reached the ears of the Rājā.

* This is an allusion to the Hindu idea of pollution associated with the eating of cooked food.

A vigorous inquiry was set on foot and the Gonr's wife was arrested on a charge of having started the canard. The woman betrayed her husband and on her information the Gonr was arrested. Mahādeo had forbidden him on pain of death to impart the secret of his gift to any one. But he was obliged to give out the whole truth to the Rājā and having done so the poor Gonr dropped dead. The Rāni asked the Rājā to tell her how the man had died so mysteriously. The Rājā was in possession of the gift, but he could not impart the secret to any one without risking his own life. The Rāni would take no refusal and so great was her power over her husband that he offered to tell her the secret on the banks of the sacred stream where he could meet death with composure. The royal couple went in procession to the river. On the way they passed a she-goat which was nibbling the green grass on a verdant spot near a spring. The Rājā heard the she-goat speak thus to a he-goat which was grazing on an arid waste-land at a short distance:—"Here is a place full of verdure. Why are you browsing on a dry desert?" Said the he-goat in reply:—"There is a Rājā! going to his doom as he has been foolish enough to yield to a woman's importunity. I give no heed to a woman's tongue. I am quite happy here." This speech impressed the Rājā so deeply that he changed his mind and determined to keep the secret to himself and returned to the palace with his entourage.

13.—A JACKAL'S CUNNING.

A man was engaged in ploughing his land. His team consisted of a bullock and a bull. A jackal strolled up and addressed the ploughman:—"Well, mate, are you ploughing?" "Yes, mate, I am" was the reply. Said the jackal, looking out of the corner of his eye at the bull:—"When will those eggs drop, old mate, so that I may dine on them?" This strange question the jackal repeated each time that the ploughman came round to him with his plough. Eventually the man knocked off the conical crest of an ant-hill and asked the jackal to take his seat thereon and then he said:—"My friend, the eggs will be at your disposal when water issues forth from this solid rock." The jackal

seated himself on the ant-hill and waited. He waited long and in the meantime the white-ants drilled a hole into his posterior. After some time the ploughman dug up a mouse and he raised it from the ground and offered it to the jackal saying :—" Here is a nice egg for you, my friend." The jackal hastily swallowed it, but it at once ran out through the passage which the white-ants had made. As the mouse came out the jackal caught it and taking it for another little rodent put it into his mouth. The mouse again got out and the jackal again caught it and devoured it. This was repeated many times until the new passage was discovered by the jackal, and then he said :—" Look here my dear, the white-ants have bored a big hole in the lower part of my trunk. What am I to do to stop the hole ?" The ploughman replied : " Don't fret, my dear old pal ; go to a cobbler and he will patch it up for you with a piece of skin." The jackal got a cobbler to patch up the hole. Not only was the defect satisfactorily remedied, but the jackal found in the patch a handy drum and amused himself by beating a tattoo on it whenever he felt inclined. Meanwhile the jackal had been scheming means of revenge against the ploughman who had so shamefully deceived him. Having matured his plans he went one morning to the man's village and gave out to the villagers that the Dikūs (Hindus) were about to raid the place and warned them to fly in time. He re-appeared in the evening and said :—" You sluggards, you have lost valuable time. The Dikūs are already at your gates. Fly for your lives and take your children with you. There is no time for you to remove your poultry." He then left the place and after going to a safe distance started beating a tattoo on his patched hole. The sound of the drum lent colour to his warning and the frightened villagers ran off pellmell. The jackal then leisurely collected all the fowls which the villagers had abandoned and took them home. The men subsequently returned to the village only to find that the Dikūs had relieved them of their poultry. The jackal attempted a repetition of his game, but on this occasion, as ill luck would have it, a decrepit old woman

was unable to leave the village and had hid herself in a pig-sty. She discovered the real truth about the Dikūs' raid and duly informed the villagers. The men then devised a plan to punish the villainous jackal. They made a waxen effigy of a woman and placed it right in the middle of the path by which the jackal usually entered the village. When next time he was coming to announce the approach of the Dikūs he found the wax figure in the way and mistaking it for a human being said :—" Be off, old woman, why are you standing in my way ?" As he received no response he lost his temper and struck the figure with his drum-stick. The stick stuck fast in the wax and he could not remove it. " Give up my stick, old hag, or I will fetch you a slap. " As this threat had no effect he smacked the face of the old woman, with the result that his hand was firmly glued to her face and he tried in vain to remove it. In despair he kicked at the figure and his foot stuck fast in the same way as his hand. The villagers turned up and found the jackal in a sorry plight and they determined to have their full revenge on him. Said the jackal :—" You can devise no severer form of punishment than this : take me to a blacksmith's forge and there belabour me with a red-hot iron rod." The villagers adopted the suggestion and took him to the nearest smithy. He was placed so near the forge while the iron rod was being heated that the wax melted away and freed his hand and leg and he hastily made his escape.

14.—A JACKAL'S STRATAGEM.

There is a village which stands in the midst of an immense forest where there lived at one time many man-eating tigers. The villagers met together in order to devise some means of protection against these terrible animals. They decided upon erecting a large *rābā* (cage) in order to entrap them, and got the village blacksmith to construct one of adequate size. After excavating a circular moat with a single exit they erected a stockade within the moat and placed the *rābā* at the entrance. A dog was tied behind the *rābā* to serve as a bait. A tiger soon came to the place and saw the dog, and he went round and

round the moat until he discovered the entrance. The trap-door of the *rābā* dropped behind him as he got inside and he soon found himself imprisoned. A man passed that way and saw the tiger entrapped. The tiger thus addressed him :—" My friend, do me a good turn by finding a way for me out of this dungeon. I will be your best friend ever after." The man replied :—" You tigers are the natural enemies of man. You are never to be trusted." The tiger said :—" I am willing to take an oath and swear on my honour that I will do you no harm if you only let me out of this prison." The man yielded to the tiger's entreaties and set him at liberty. Once outside the *rābā* the tiger's attitude underwent a transformation and he asked the man to prepare for death. The man said :—" I have one request to make. I have left my wife and children far way ; let me go and see them for the last time before I die. You may come along with me." This was agreed to and the man proceeded homewards followed by the tiger. On the way they sat down to rest under the shade of a large Asan tree (*Hātñādāru*). The man thus appealed to the tree :—" I befriended this tiger on his swearing that he would do me no harm. He is now going back on his word of honour and wants to devour me." Said the tree :—" You men are very wicked. You not only lop off my branches* but cut down my roots also for your selfish purposes. You fully deserve your fate." The two then resumed their journey and after a long tramp sat down to rest under a Sal tree (*Sārjom-dāru*). The man made a similar appeal to this tree and received a similarly cold reply. He and the tiger then continued their journey and they came across a jackal. The jackal attempted to run away, but he stopped at the request of the man. The jackal said :—" There is no trusting you men. You are always after us." The man appealed to the jackal when the latter stopped for a while and told him the whole story and then the jackal addressed the tiger :—" You are a tiger of great size. The story of your entrance into a *rābā* is utterly absurd. I cannot bring myself to believe the story

* Cocoons are reared on the twigs of Asan trees lopped off for the purpose.

until I have an ocular demonstration of it." The tiger agreed to show him how it was done and then all three of them proceeded to the village where the *rābā* had been set. Seeing the *rābā* the jackal laughed outright and said :—" Surely such a big fellow as yourself could not get in through so narrow a slit. I must see you do it, to believe your cock-and-bull story." Down fell the trap-door as the tiger naïvely entered the *rābā*. " Now," said the jackal, addressing the man, " have your revenge. Let me see you throw a stone at him." The man hit the tiger with a stone and ran off. The jackal too left the place and the villagers assembled soon after and dispatched the tiger with their arrows.

15.—WORDS OF THE WISE.

A king had two sons. The elder boy was making good progress under his instructor, but the younger was wayward and inattentive. All the king's efforts to bring up his younger son as became a royal prince were thrown away and the boy proved quite intractable. At last the king decided to turn him out of doors. He caused two loaves of bread to be prepared. One of these was designed to excite and the other to appease hunger. With these two loaves, a *lota* (jug), some wearing apparel and a small sum of money the young prince was cast adrift and was left to shift for himself. The king's last words to him were to tell him that he must not show his face again in the royal city. The boy wandered away into the jungles. After a long tramp he found himself in a thick forest and went down to a river to quench his thirst. Just then a *Sādhu* (hermit) made his appearance at the place and the boy asked him who he was, whence he came and whither he was going. Said the *Sādhu* :—" I speak not in vain. My words must be purchased for good money." The boy agreed to pay and the *Sādhu* said : " It is unwise to go on a journey alone. One should have a companion." For this the *Sādhu* was paid a rupee. The *Sādhu's* next hint was :—" Idleness begets woe, work brings happiness." For this the *Sādhu* received another rupee and then he

took his departure. The young prince continued his journey in the jungle and finding a rivulet he rested awhile on its banks. He noticed a crab crawling out of the water and the Sādhu's advice flitted before his mind and he determined to make the little crustacean his companion. He tied the crab in his napkin and proceeded on his journey. He slept one night under a tree and while asleep a deadly snake came to attack him. As the snake struck at him the crab seized its neck in his vice-like claws and strangled it. After killing the snake the crab began to scratch the boy's chest lightly with one of its smaller claws in order to awaken him. The boy awoke with a start, but in doing so he struck the crab involuntarily, breaking its claws. The crab explained the situation to him and pointing to the dead snake, said :— " I have saved your life ; but you have maimed me for life." This upset him and he put the crab in a lake and resumed his journey alone. Arriving at a town where there was a king he remembered the Sādhu's second advice, and he made up his mind to engage in work. After he had served the king three days it was proposed to him that he should marry the royal princess, the king's daughter and become the prince consort. It was at first sight a tempting proposal, but the boy knew of the great risk involved, as it was an open secret in the kingdom that the princess had been married successively to many men, but that none had survived the wedding night. The boy begged hard to be excused, but he was compelled to marry the princess. The boy was with the princess in the bridal chamber, but he did not go to sleep. At a late hour of the night when the princess was fast asleep in her bed he saw two snakes issuing forth from her nostrils. He promptly killed them. A bier had been kept in readiness for his dead body, but everyone was surprised to find him alive in the morning. For a time he lived happily in this town as the prince consort. One day he went out on a short journey and met a party of labourers who were on their way to the city of a neighbouring king in quest of work. He at once remembered the second advice of the Sādhu and joined the party. The men went and obtained employment as labourers, the prince

being also employed as such. The king's servants proceeded to distribute fried pulse amongst the labourers for their lunch. Every one took his own share but the prince refused his and said: "I will not have your pulse. My lunch will be brought to me on the back of an elephant." As his words savoured of impudence the matter was reported to the king, before whom the prince was placed in due course. As he repeated the words in the royal presence, the king said: "If your words come true I will make a present of half my kingdom to you. But if it should prove false you will pay for it with your life." Not long after an elephant arrived with the princess, his wife, who brought for him a large quantity of dainty food. In fulfilment of his promise the king gave him half the kingdom and the prince lived happily there with his wife. After a time the couple went on a visit to the house of the prince's father-in-law and the prince narrated his experiences to the old king and told him of the great benefit he had derived from the advice of the Sādhu. He then came back in triumph to his self-acquired kingdom with his wife.

16.—THE TRIALS OF A RĀNĪ.

A certain Rājā had three wives. But he had no son by any of them. One day a Brāhman came to the palace for alms and the Rājā said to him:—"I have no son and all men call me in contempt the 'sonless (kāe-honáng or bānji) Rājā.' I am ashamed of myself. You are a wise Brāhman. Do tell me how I may have a son and heir." The Brāhman said:—"I see that you have a garden. Does it contain a mango tree?" Said the Rājā:—"I do not know if there is one. Let us walk round and see." They inspected the garden and found a mango tree standing on the bank of a tank. There was only one fruit on it and under the Brāhman's directions the Rājā hit it with a stone and caught it with one hand before it dropped on the ground. The Rājā entered the inner apartments of his palace and gave the mango to the senior Rānī and asked her to share it with her two co-wives, as the Brāhman had directed. In the absence of the youngest Rānī the other two divided the fruit and ate it; but the former

found the skin and stone which had been cast off and she ate them. The youngest Rāni in due course gave birth to a prince while the other two Rānis did not conceive. Fearing to lose the Rājā's favour the two wicked Rānis conspired together and stole the child from its cradle and left a log of wood in its place. The Rājā was away a-hunting in the jungles when a messenger brought to him the news of the young prince's birth, and he hurried home to see his son and heir. But he found only a piece of wood in the cradle. Beside himself with rage he forthwith ejected the young Rāni from the palace and built a small shanty outside the palace grounds for her to live in. Meanwhile the wicked Rānis had exposed the little infant in a pit formed by the removal of potters' clay by some *kunkals* (potters) hard by a lake; and the infant had somehow crawled into the lake and got transformed into a lovely lotus-flower (*Kamal-bā*). One of the Rājā's subjects drew the attention of a palace servant to the magnificent flower and soon after the palace gardener's wife went down to the lake and saw it. The gardener's wife tried to pluck the flower, but it moved away towards the middle of the lake and got out of her reach. Many others tried to pluck it but no one succeeded. Amongst others the two wicked Rānis made the attempt without success. When they approached the flower it rebuked them, saying :—" I was such a lovely child. Why did you abandon me ?" The Rājā heard of the strange flower and he went down to the lake and attempted to pluck it. The flower said :—" I was a well born child. Why did they abandon me ?" The flower receded and it eluded his grasp. The Rājā left the place utterly perplexed. He ordered the youngest Rāni as a last resource to make the attempt. She sent him word to say that she had been so long lying neglected in her shanty that her hair was unkempt and she had no change of raiment and that it would bring disgrace on the Rājā if she were to go out to the lake in the rags she stood in. Thereupon the Rājā sent her a female barber to assist her in her toilet and provided her with fresh raiment and sent a *pālki* to convey her to the lake. As the young Rāni's *pālki* came to the margin of the lake the milk from her breasts began

to fall in jets on the lotus-flower, which advanced towards the bank to meet her. At the Rāni's touch the flower was transformed into a lovely child. The child was taken to the palace and she gave the Rājā a full and true account of the infamous conduct of the two wicked Rānis. The pit where the infant had been abandoned was deepened by order of the Rājā and two Rānis were buried alive in it. Thereafter the Rājā lived happily with the youngest Rāni and her son.

17.—THE LUCK OF A YOUNGER BROTHER.

There were seven brothers. The name of the youngest was Liṭā. After living jointly in perfect amity for several years the brothers decided upon effecting a partition of their joint properties intending that each should set up for himself. Instead of receiving a fair share of the goods and chattels Liṭā got only an old buffalo, with which he went away. After several days' wanderings he arrived in the dominions of a King, and put up on the bank of a tank where there was good pasture for his buffalo. Here he built a hut for himself. One day the seven daughters of the King came to the tank. Before getting into the water they anointed themselves with turmeric paste, which they had brought in a lump. After dividing the paste into seven parts a quantity was left over and this they made a present of to Liṭā. While the young ladies anointed themselves with the paste at the main ghāṭ or bathing platform Liṭā betook himself to a remote corner of the tank and did the same. The young ladies began to disport themselves in the water and started a game of hide and seek by diving about, and they invited Liṭā to join them. Liṭā played the game wonderfully well and succeeded in finding each of the seven hidden princesses under water and to each one save the youngest he said:—"This is my wife's elder sister." When he touched the youngest princess he said:—"This is my wife." After this it was Liṭā's turn to hide himself. As he dived the old buffalo which had been wallowing in the margin of the tank sucked him up with the water he was drinking and the young ladies searched

for him all over the tank in vain. In despair they gave up the quest and asked Liṭā to emerge from his strange hiding place. The princesses then prepared to leave the tank but Liṭā seized the youngest one to make her his wife and carried her off to his hut.*

During the first night of his honeymoon the unpretentious little hut was transformed mysteriously into a magnificent palace. Meanwhile the King noticed the absence of his youngest daughter. The other daughters were taken severely to task. They attempted evasion but were compelled in the end to give out the truth. He heard of the strange buffalo possessed by Liṭā and went to meet him with a young buffalo of great strength so that Liṭā's animal could be easily vanquished and the princess rescued. To the surprise of every one Liṭā's old buffalo overcame the King's and the enterprise failed. The King then procured a buffalo of enormous size and extraordinary strength and went to meet Liṭā. On this occasion Liṭā's buffalo anticipated its doom and said:—"The buffalo which the King will now pit against me will surely vanquish me. Remember this. As soon as you see that I have been killed pull out my eyes and keep them, for you will find them of great use to you." Everything happened as the old buffalo had foreseen; but Liṭā managed to retain possession of his wife. Liṭā had taken out the buffalo's eyes and in the course of the first night they were transformed into two powerful dogs. These dogs guarded his house and accompanied his wife when she went to the tank to bathe. One day the dogs started a hare and followed it. The hare said:—"I am your friend. Do not kill me." The hare then joined the company of the dogs. Meanwhile the King sent a messenger to Liṭā declaring war against him and appointing a day on which the battle would be fought. Liṭā was filled with apprehension as his resources were very limited while those of his opponent were enormous. The hare boldly came forward and said:—"Be not despondent. I will raise for you a powerful army which will

* This is precisely the way in which marriages are effected amongst the Hos even at the present time.

scatter the forces of the King like chaff." The hare assumed the rôle of a recruiting sergeant and, arming himself with a small stick, set out to beat up for recruits. On the way he saw a black bear lying on the ground and struck it with his stick. The startled bear said :— " Why do you beat me ? I am your friend." The hare then explained matters and the bear agreed to fight under Liṭā's banner. The hare went on and met a sleeping tiger and gave it a blow with his little stick. " Why do you strike me," said the startled tiger, " know you not that I am a friend ?" Explanations followed and the hare got another recruit. The hare next met a swarm of bees and struck them with his stick. The bees enlisted just as the bear and tiger had previously done. The hare then recruited a snake and finally an elephant. On the appointed day of battle Liṭā marshalled his heterogeneous army and the parties met in deadly combat. The bees formed the advance guard of Liṭā's forces and they easily routed the King's troops and put them to flight. The King acknowledged defeat and returned to his own city leaving Liṭā master of the field. Liṭā thenceforth lived peacefully with the princess. He afforded every help to the cultivators in times of scarcity and employed large bodies of labour on his estates. His brothers heard of him for the reputation of his name had spread far and wide, but they did not know that he was their brother. They came to him in search of work and at once recognized him. Liṭā asked them to stay in his house and thenceforth they lived with him in amity.

18.—A FAMILY OF TIGER-MEN.

There lived in a village a family consisting of seven brothers and a sister, all unmarried. The youngest brother's name was Liṭā. The seven brothers and their sister went to work one day and on returning home were surprised to find that in their absence their rooms had been cleaned and tidied up and, what was more wonderful still, their food had been cooked and kept ready for them by some unknown and mysterious agency. Next day one of the brothers stayed at home in order to unravel the mystery, if possible. This man was fairly vigilant but he left the

house just for a short while to purchase salt and oil from the village shop; and on his return he found that the rooms had been cleaned up, the food was ready cooked and everything was in its place. Each of the brothers took his turn of watching with no better result until it was Liṭā's turn to watch. Liṭā posted himself in a neighbouring house and watched closely, never quitting his coign of vantage for a single moment. He saw a young woman cleaning the house and cooking the food and he promptly went and laid hold of her. She pleaded that she had a strong desire to live with his people. The mystery was thus unravelled and the young woman lived in the house as the wife of the eldest brother. Now, this woman was not an ordinary human being. She belonged to a family of Tiger-men (*Kulā-ho*)—a fact unknown to Liṭā and his brothers. One day she proposed to go home to her parents and she was allowed to go accompanied by her sister-in-law. While in her father's house she assumed her real form of a tigress at night and devoured her sister-in-law. As she returned to her husband's house alone she was questioned about her sister-in-law by her husband and she said in reply :—"My parents have grown so fond of her that they have detained her. They are eagerly expecting to see their son-in-law." The husband then set out with his wife. On the way they had to cross a river. As the husband drank at the river his wife asked him what the water tasted like. "It is sweet", he said. His wife then asked him to cut down a creeper called *Bāndu-nāi* which was growing on the river bank. He attempted to cut it with his axe but did not succeed. When he arrived in the house of his father-in-law he looked for his sister but did not find her. His wife said :—"Your sister is away at work with my sisters. Do not be anxious on her account." At night she turned into a tigress and made a meal of him. She went back to her husband's house and fetched his brothers in turn and devoured them one after another, until it was Liṭā's turn to provide the woman tigress with a meal. When he came to the river with her and drank the water she asked him :—"What does it taste like?" Unlike his unfortunate brothers who had preceded

him he said :—" All that I can find about it is that it is fairly cold." He also succeeded in cutting down the *Bāndu-nāi* creeper which act his brothers had failed to accomplish. Not finding his sister and his brothers in the woman's house Liṭā grew suspicious and he refused to be beguiled by the specious excuses offered by her. At night he resolved to keep his axe by his side. His sister-in-law wanted him to put it elsewhere but he said :—" It has grown into an inveterate habit with me. I cannot have any sleep unless my axe is by my side." At night he had his dinner and was shown into a room. When he was left alone he made a close inspection of the whole place and discovered a heap of bones in one corner. He now found out how the land lay, and instead of remaining in the room that was assigned to him he kept vigil in an adjoining room. At a late hour of the night he found the whole family prowling about in the form of tigers and tigresses. As they came to seize him he despatched them one by one with his axe, and thus escaped the unhappy fate which had overtaken his sister and his brothers. On his way home next morning his attention was powerfully drawn to a stone of peculiar shape and he picked it up. As he was going along he saw a ripe mango on a tree which stood on the roadside. He left the stone at the foot of the tree and climbed up in order to pluck the fruit. He found in the meantime that the curious stone had become transformed into a tiger. He managed to get inside the mango and just then a parrot (*rupā*) plucked the mango and flew away with it. The tiger followed in the wake of the bird. The bird dropped the mango right in the middle of a tank near a village. A large fish forthwith swallowed the fruit with Liṭā inside it. After some time when the dry season came the people from the neighbouring village came and caught up all the fish in the tank. The fish which had swallowed the mango was caught by an old woman. When the woman proceeded to cut up the fish a voice from within said: " Use your knife cautiously and do not hurt me." The woman was taken by surprise. She cut open the fish's belly very cautiously and

found Liṭā inside. She brought him up as her own child. Liṭā had long locks of hair. One day while bathing in the river one of his locks came off. He put the lock of hair inside a fig and cast the fig adrift. The fig was picked up by a young princess who was bathing in the river. The princess was taken with the lock and told her father the king that she would have none but the owner of that lock of hair for her husband. The king sent out messengers far and near and eventually found Liṭā who in due course became his son-in-law.*

19.—A BROTHER'S REVENGE.†

A man had seven sons. The youngest boy whose name was Gukehomdeya was employed as a shepherd. One day, when he went out with his flock he took some fried pulse to eat. At midday while the sheep and the goats gathered together under a tree to rest the boy began to eat the fried pulse. Many of the sheep and goats began to work their mouths while sleeping and the boy thinking that they were making faces at him, flew into a rage and killed them all. When he came home without his herd he was questioned by his mother and he told her what he had done. His brothers were very angry and they went and fetched the carcasses home. To mark their displeasure they refused to give him any of the mutton. He begged for some blood and entrails and these they gave him out of pity. Setting out on a journey with these provisions he came to a camping ground which was being prepared for the reception of the king. In the evening he climbed up a tall tree below which the royal tent was pitched. The king arrived next morning with his retinue and in due course he undressed and prepared for his bath. He lay on a mat under the tree and his valets began to anoint him with oil and to shampoo his body. While the king lay flat on his back

* The latter part of the story bears a remarkable resemblance to story No. (2) which has already appeared in this Journal. [Vide J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, Part II, page 257.] It is an instance of one story being grafted on to another.

† This is another version (differing in many of the details) of story No. 5 which has already appeared in this Journal. [Vide J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, Part II, page 263.]

Gukchomdeya dropped the entrails right on to his uncovered belly. The servants rose with a start and they feared that by some diabolical means the royal belly had burst. The panic soon spread over the entire camp and there was a general stampede and the king soon found himself alone in the jungle. The king then left the camp and departed. After he had left, the boy climbed down and collected all the booty he could find in the deserted encampment, and returned home. He asked his mother to go and fetch his brothers, adding, "Now will I give them the full value of the entrails which they gave me." When his brothers appeared he distributed amongst them all that he had brought away from the royal camp and they were highly pleased. His brothers thought that he had received a very high price for the entrails which they had given him out of pity and in order to enrich themselves they killed their sheep and goats and went to the market with the entrails. They soon found out their mistake. They failed to get any customer and came in for some abuse into the bargain, for people regarded it as an insult to be offered such worthless stuff. Returning home crestfallen they asked Gukchomdeya how it was that their experience as to the marketableness of entrails was so different from his. The boy said in reply : "It is not enough for you to expose the entrails for sale at the stalls ; you must notify your wares by crying out at the top of your voice and then there will be no want of customers." They tried this plan but it failed entirely. Furious with rage they determined to punish Gukchomdeya for having thus befooled them. When they threatened to chastise him the boy appealed to them for mercy and pointed out that he had not deceived them and had given substantial proof of his own good luck. They relented and spared him a beating ; but they proceeded to make a partition of the family goods and chattels and in doing so they dealt very unfairly with Gukchomdeya by giving him nothing but a lame old bull. The bull was unfit for any work. One day it went to the other oxen, the property of Gukchomdeya's brothers, which were engaged in work and urged them to go on strike.

The brothers found this out and forthwith killed the lame bull. Gukchomdeya asked them for the skin. This they gave him. He dried the skin and set out with it on a journey. In the course of his wanderings he arrived at a spot which *Beparis* (tradesmen) use as a halting-place. He climbed up a tree and lay in wait until some *Beparis* came and unpacked their bullocks in order to take rest. Quite suddenly he dropped the skin which fell with a loud thud, and the *Beparis* fled panic-stricken. The boy then climbed down and collected all the goods which the *Beparis* had abandoned, loaded the bullocks with the goods and went home. He told his mother that he wanted to distribute amongst his brothers the sale-proceeds of the old bull's skin, and he asked her to borrow from them a *paila* (vessel used as a grain-measure) and a stick from them. He then gave away all the goods and all the bullocks, using the *paila* in measuring out the former and the stick in driving the bullocks to each of his brothers. His brothers, hoping to make a short cut to affluence, killed all their bullocks and took the skins to the market for sale. No one bought the skins. Many abused them for offering such trash. They returned home sorely disappointed and firmly determined to kill Gukchomdeya. Seizing him, they sewed him up in a sack and flung him into a river. After it had floated down a long way the sack was seen and dragged out by a Goālā who was tending his herd on the river bank. The Goālā opened the sack and found the boy alive. The Goālā had a sword and a stick with him. The boy asked him for a loan of the sword, and having possessed himself of the weapon he turned round on the Goālā and thus thundered forth :—" You have marred my happiness by dragging me out of the water. Woe to you." As he brandished the sword the Goālā took to his heels and never turned back, regarding the boy as a river devil. Gukchomdeya took possession of the cattle and drove the herd home. As on the former so on this occasion he asked his mother to go and fetch his brothers so that he might distribute amongst them the cattle which represented the value of the sack which they had so generously given him. His brothers were overjoyed and they

eagerly asked him to sew them up in sacks and to throw them into the river so that they might return home rich as he had done. Gukchomdeya put each of his brothers in a sack but before casting them into the river he took the precaution of belabouring them with sticks so that they were all killed. "Why are you beating us?" they inquired. "It is to ensure your good luck," he replied. Having thus got rid of his brothers he came home. His sisters-in-law (for all his brothers were married men and he alone was single) asked him about their respective husbands. He told them in reply that they had gone abroad to acquire wealth. As a long time passed by and they did not return each of the widows pressed Gukchomdeya to take her to wife. He was thus obliged to take all the six women. Needless to say that between these six women Gukchomdeya's earthly career was of brief duration.

V.—Santal Marriage Customs.

By the Hon'ble and Rev A. Campbell, D.D.

The exclusiveness of the people of India is carried by them to the greatest extremes. Each caste among the Hindus, and each tribe among the aboriginal peoples will only, as a rule, eat or intermarry with persons of their own caste or tribe. In no other country of the world are the people so exclusive, and one wonders how it has come to be so. Was it introduced by the Aryans, or did they find it in existence among the people of India when they entered it? Did they bring it with them, or did they adopt it from the aborigines of India? They have assimilated much which is not Aryan, and why not this also? Exclusiveness of the type found in India does not exist among people who claim the same origin as the Brāhmāns. Non-Aryans seems to have exerted a greater influence over Aryans than Aryans over Non-Aryans. Hinduism has absorbed tribe after tribe of Non-Aryans, and with them also many of their religious ideas and customs, but many of the aboriginal peoples of India are up till the present day practically uninfluenced by Aryan religious ideas and customs. The Santāls, Mundās and other cognate tribes who inhabit Chotā Nāgpur and one or two of the adjoining districts do not seem to have had much intercourse with the Aryan people of India, and among them the exclusiveness already referred to exists in all its rigour. Santāls, for instance, will only eat food cooked by one of themselves. In one of the earlier famines the British authorities were under the impression that Santāls would eat food cooked by a Brāhman, and it was only when it became known that they preferred death from starvation to contamination that special arrangements were made for them. With regard to marriage the same exclusiveness exists. No Santāl

may marry a woman of another tribe or caste, and the same law is also applied rigorously to women.

A man may not marry a woman of his own sept. He may marry into his mother's sept, but not within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. These rules are observed with all possible strictness, and no compromise is ever allowed. Children belong to their father's sept.

In regular marriages parents conduct all negotiations and it very often happens that the young people meet each other for the first time on the marriage day. Members of a Santal family never speak of a bride as so-and-so's bride, but always as our bride. She has been bought with family funds and so she belongs to the family. It very often happens that a bride, although of full age, is not brought home permanently at first. Immediately after marriage she is taken to the house of her husband's family, and may stay there a few days, after which she is taken home and left there. The reason for this treatment generally being that it is not convenient for the husband's family to keep her as there is a sufficient number of people in the house to do the farm work. At any particularly busy season, such as rice planting or matkom gathering, she may be brought home, and when the press of work is over, taken back to her parents' house. It is not considered the right thing for a young wife to visit her parents unless some male relative goes to fetch her, and the custom generally is for her to remain at her father's house until some one of her husband's family comes to take her back.

Infant marriage may be said to be non-existent among Santals. Instances do occur now and again, but they are so very rare and are so entirely non-Santal that they may be entirely overlooked. Many marriages, however, take place in which the girl is within a year or two of adolescence. In such cases she remains in her father's house until she has reached, or is on the threshold of, puberty.

There are several forms of legal marriage among Santals, but, as with a few exceptions, they appear to have originated in

the desire to avert the worse of two evils, they are regarded as more or less irregular. The different forms of marriage are :—

- 1st The Kiriñ bahu.
- 2nd Tūnki dipiḷ bāplā.
- 3rd Hirom chetān bāplā.
- 4th Sāṅghā bāplā.
- 5th Ghardi jawāe.
- 6th Golāṭ bāplā.
- 7th Jawāe kirinok bāplā.
- 8th Nir bolok bāplā.
- 9th Itūt bāplā.
- 10th Apāṅgir reak bāplā.
- 11th Koṛa kuṛi kūṇḍel nāpāmkātē reak bāplā.

The first six are regular marriages and the others irregular, still these latter are valid unions.

THE KIRIN BAHU.

The first form mentioned, that of the Kiriñ bahu, or bought bride, is, of course, the most common and is regarded as the most honourable. The bride is bought for a price, but her relatives, as they say, retain the right to interfere if blood is shed. The money paid to the bride's father or other guardian is called pōn and has a slightly different meaning from price. The money paid for the purchase of a tenant's right in land is known as pōn. The land is not bought outright, but only the right to cultivate it as a holding under the landlord to whom rent is paid. There are different rates of pōn varying from three rupees to sixteen and even more. Return presents bearing a certain proportion to the amount of pōn are also made by the bride's father.

The lowest rate of pōn, that of three rupees, is named the "Kulāi mandal" or "the hare's hindquarters", and no return presents are demanded from the father of a bride for whom this sum is paid.

For a pōn of five rupees the bride's father gives in return one brass plate and cup and a cow with a calf.

For a pōn of seven rupees the return presents are the same as for one of five rupees.

For a pōn of nine rupees a brass lota in addition to those presents given for a seven rupee pōn.

For a pōn of 12 rupees the return presents are a brass plate and cup, a lōtā, a brass waterpot and a cow and calf.

For a pōn of 16 rupees the return presents are a brass plate, brass cup, brass lōtā, brass waterpot, a cow and calf, a yoke o oxen, a kadāli or digging hoe, an axe and one male servant.

The bridegroom's father has, according to custom, to give presents, mainly of cloth to certain relatives of the bride. Her uncles get each a piece of *doal*, a kind of cloth woven in alternate red and white stripes. They give a cow and calf in return, and also entertain the bridegroom's friends. The bride's mother gets a present of *doal* cloth, and her maternal grandmother gets another, but she gives in return a pot of rice beer, a quantity of parched rice and a *kūs*, or large neck ornament of bell-metal. Her paternal grandmother also receives a *doal* cloth, but she is not required to give anything in exchange. The bride's eldest or youngest brother get a bullock. The chief of the bride's village gets one rupee, and in return he gives to the bridegroom's party 12 seers of rice, some dal, one pice worth of salt and one anna. The person who measures out the rice keeps one *paila* of it for his own use.

The go-between gets a pair of shoes and a dhōti or loin cloth from each party. These along with food which he receives when he visits the parties professionally is all he can claim as a reward for his services.

There is a groomsman and a bridesmaid. The bridesmaid receives a present of a *sākom* or wristlet from the bridegroom, and the bride's father gives the groomsman a *ṭoḍor* or a wristlet of the shape worn by males. Two elderly women whose duty it is to see the bride safely to her new home get each one anna.

A marriage is the occasion for feasting and jollity. Dēm drummers are always engaged and there are dancing and

merriment ; rice beer is always in evidence and is served out with no niggardly hand.

Regular marriages, as a rule, take place in the early part of the year—February-April, and great preparations are made for their due celebration ; marriages are always most numerous after a good harvest.

The custom is to marry the young folks according to their ages, and it is very seldom that a younger is married before an elder. Should a younger sister be married before an elder, the latter claims a solatium known as *taram gande*, which amounts to about two rupees.

In the case of regular marriages the initiative proceeds from the man's side. The first procedure is to engage a go-between. There are no professional go-betweens, or marriage negotiators among the Santals, any one, male or female, may act in this capacity, but generally elderly people are preferred. A go-between is rewarded for his services by certain presents and, of course, he always receives food when on a visit to either party professionally. Having received his commission the go-between makes enquiries as to where an eligible maiden is to be found, and having located her he proceeds in a very circuitous way to sound her parents as to whether they are likely to receive favourably the proposal which he has to make. When he has reason to believe that there will be no disinclination to treat with him he discloses his principal and gives such information as is required. Preliminaries having been satisfactorily concluded a visit is arranged for, so that they may have an opportunity of seeing for themselves the material prosperity of the family with which they are about to be allied. The bride's family having satisfied themselves on this point the inspection of the proposed bride and bridegroom follows. The procedure is much the same on both sides and is more or less private. Sometimes the young folks are given a chance of seeing each other at a fair or market, but generally this is dispensed with, and they may not meet till the marriage day. It sometimes happens that either one or other of the parties most intimately concerned may be dis-

appointed when they see the person chosen for their partner through life, and in such cases if the girl is displeased she runs away and returns to her father's house. A girl who begins her married life in this way seldom turns out well; the result is generally an amicable separation, the bridegroom being reimbursed for his expenditure on the marriage. A song sung by Santāl women very well describes the disillusion which many young Santāl wives experience :—

“ I said, he will be a rich man's son,

I saw him, and he was a servant lad.”

When on the way to inspect the bride or bridegroom the party keeps a sharp look out for omens, and should an evil omen be unfortunately seen, the party proceeds no further and the proposed marriage is abandoned. Among evil omens are the following :—

To see a man with an axe over his shoulder.

To see a male carrying firewood on his shoulder or
a female carrying it on her head.

To see a jackal cross their path.

To see a quail rise and fly away.

To start a hare from its form.

To see anyone throwing out ashes.

The following are among good omens :—

To see cows on the way.

To see a woman carrying a waterpot on her head.

To hear the Uri'c bird call on the right hand.

To see a corpse in the village to which they are going.

If this possible list of evil omens is successfully avoided no further secrecy is observed as to the object of the expedition.

Everything being so far arranged to the satisfaction of both of the contracting parties the next step is for the bride's parents to take or send a party to present a *dhōti* or loin cloth to the bridegroom, and for the bridegroom's parents accompanied by a few friends to go to the bride's house and pay the stipulated price to her father. The amount varies with the means at the disposal of the parties. Return presents are made to

certain of the bridegroom's relatives, which often makes serious inroads on the pōn received by the bride's father.

A party of a bride's relatives or friends going to present a bridegroom with a loin cloth are received by his parents with very great ceremony. The greeting on arrival being over the visitors are given oil and tooth brushes and directed where they can go to bathe. The bath over, refreshment is set before them and a modicum of liquor is not wanting.

The serious business of the day is then introduced. The company, at whose head stands the village chief, being assembled the bridegroom appears carrying a lōtā of water. He is accompanied by a relative, a maternal uncle or a sister's husband, who precedes the young man and shows him the different salutes to which the guests present are entitled. They begin with the village chief, after him his assistant, and so on down the line. The bridegroom places the lōtā of water in front of each as he salutes him. Then a brass bowl of hāṇḍi or rice beer is put into his hand and he presents it to the Mānjhi or village chief. The Mānjhi having drained the bowl it is scoured with ashes and rinsed in water, and then refilled and given to the Parānik or village chief's assistant, who drinks it off. The bowl is again scoured and replenished with hāṇḍi and handed to another, and so on till all have drunk.

Liquor having been served all round the bride's father or her eldest brother takes the bridegroom on his knee, and if the present is a ṭoḍor or wristlet it is put on the wrist, if a māṇḍoli* is hung round his neck, and if a dhōti or loin cloth it is bound like a turban on his head.

More liquor is then served out and the bridegroom says,

“Receive at my hand a cup of water,

Put a silver armlet on my arm.”

The visitors are then supplied with food after which they prepare to take their departure. Just as they are about to bid good-bye, some one of the bridegroom's party says, “Take this property,” meaning the bridegroom, “with you. We made

* Receptacle for charm.

it over to you." They reply, "Yes, Sir, we took it over, but we are leaving it for a few days in your charge." To this the reply is given, "Yes, Sirs, you entrust it to our keeping, but should anything untoward happen to it the responsibility will be yours." They reply, "Yes, if it becomes blind or lame the loss will be ours." After this colloquy has been brought to a conclusion the bride's party take their leave.

The ceremony observed when a bridegroom's party go to make a present to a bride is the same as has already been described with reference to the present given to a bridegroom. The gift considered most suitable for a bride is a kind of neck ornament known as a hās or a hāsli.

These gifts are regarded as a seal to the compact entered into between the two parties and the man and woman are regarded as betrothed persons.

The marriage is the next incident in the long train of events which has led up to it. In fixing the day convenience only is consulted. There is no consulting of an oracle for an auspicious day. The omens have already spoken on the subject. Seven or eight days before the date fixed a large number of cotton threads are prepared and on each seven or eight loop knots are tied, one knot for each day to elapse before the marriage. One such thread is sent to each person or family whose presence is desired as an invitation. Each day one knot is untied and, when all have been operated on, the marriage day has arrived.

A māṇḍwa or booth is erected in the courtyard of the house of the bride and also in that of the bridegroom. The māṇḍwa is constructed as follows :—

A post, made from the branch of a Mātkom tree (*Bassia latifolia*), is fixed in a hole dug in the ground and occupies the centre of the māṇḍwa. In a cavity at the foot of this post some rice, three roots of turmeric and five of the shells used as money wrapped in a leaf of the Sārjom tree (*Shorea robusta*, Gærtn.) are buried. When the māṇḍwa is taken down after the marriage is over, if the rice and turmeric roots show signs

of germination or sprouting it is believed the marriage will be fruitful, and if no such indications are visible the matter is regarded as doubtful. This centre post is bound round with straw ropes and plastered over smoothly with soft clay. It is then whitewashed and representations of date, palm trees and men are drawn on it with charcoal and a kind of red ochre known as *giru*. Posts are fixed at the four corners of the *māṇḍwa* and branches of trees with the leaves on serve as a roof or covering to keep out the sun. The *māṇḍwa* is erected by the villagers at the invitation of the Jog Māṇjhi who visits each house for that purpose.

The *māṇḍwa* is decorated with festoons of mango leaves, as is also the entrance to the house from the street. Twine in which mango leaves have been inserted is stretched overhead across the village street in three places.

Three fowls, two white and one brown, are sacrificed on the day the *māṇḍwa* is erected.

The young men who construct the *māṇḍwa* receive *māṇḍwa hāṇḍi*, or *māṇḍwa liquor*, and *māṇḍwa daka* or *māṇḍwa cooked rice*.

In the evening the villagers, male and female, on the invitation of the Jog Māṇjhi assemble in the *māṇḍwa* where there is a mat spread on the ground. The village Māṇjhi or chief and his wife first seat themselves on the mat and three maidens anoint them with oil and turmeric; after them come the village *nāeke* or priest and his wife, and following them all the men and women of the village. Last of all the bridegroom is anointed, and during the process much harmless fun and joking accompanied with singing are indulged in. The indispensable *hāṇḍi* is served out all round and the business of the day is brought to a close by the young women dancing the Dom dance.

Three days or so after the construction of the *māṇḍwa* the ceremony known as *dāk bāplā* or water marriage is performed. The principal actors are three women and two girls. One of the women, wearing a cloth intended as a present to the bride's

mother, carries a drawn sword ; another of them dressed in the cloth destined for one of the bride's grandmothers, carries the scabbard. The third woman has a bow and arrow ; she has on the garment intended for the other grandmother. The two girls carry each a small waterpot on the head, in which are a few of the shells used as money. The Jog Mānjhi takes haṇḍi in a lōṭā, some thread, three iron-pointed arrows and a kudāli or digging hoe.

A procession, headed by Dom musicians, proceeds to a tank in the vicinity, and the three women already mentioned dance the Dom dance all the way to the music of the drums. Arrived at the tank one of the party, known as the Babrē or Brāhman, digs with the kudāli a miniature triangular tank and fixes an arrow in the ground at each of the angles, and winds a thread three or five times round the arrows. The Jog Mānjhi makes three marks with *sindūr* on the ground where the arrows are fixed and offers a libation to Marāng-buru and the manes of the village chief. The following is the prayer usually repeated on this occasion :—

“ We salute thee, Oh ! Marāng-buru, thou seest we marry and take away this water. Do not permit any one to envy. Do not allow any spell, charm or cantrip to succeed, so that this marriage may take place without any untoward incident attending it.”

The three women and the two girls then enter the water. The woman with the bow shoots an arrow into the water and she with the sword slashes it. The two girls dip their waterpots at the same time, and with one action raise them on to their heads and cover them with the cloth intended for the bride. The waterpots are carried in procession home and deposited in some secure place. Another miniature triangular tank is made at the house and the three arrows fixed at the corners and thread wound three or five times round them, as was done at the tank. Two bullock yokes are placed in the centre. On these the bridegroom and his father stand, the one

in front of the other. A sword is laid flat on the father's head, and on it he pours water which flows on to his son's head.

The bridegroom is then bathed by having water poured over him, and a few grains of rice and a few small pieces of *dhubi* grass are wrapped up in three *sārjom* leaves and tied to his wrist where they remain till the marriage is over. In the case of a bride a few grains of rice, three pieces of turmeric root and some bits of *dhubi* grass are folded up in a *matkom* leaf and tied round her wrist. After the marriage is over these are untied and inspected, and if signs of sprouting are visible the fates are auspicious, and if the grain is mouldy the future of the married couple is clouded with uncertainty.

These preliminaries being concluded the bridegroom and his party towards evening set out for the bride's village, accompanied by Dom musicians. The go-between carries five cloths in a basket, one of which is intended for a present to the bride's mother, two for her grandmothers, one for the bride herself, and one, all white, for the bride's youngest brother. The bride's father takes six rupees with him, five to be paid to the bride's father as *pōn*, if that was the sum agreed on, and one for the *Mānjhi* or chief of the bride's village. A goat, a quantity of *hāṇḍi*, some rice, and a supply of ready cooked foods as provision for the party on the way are also provided by him. Arrived in the neighbourhood of the bride's village they halt under a tree and begin the Dom dance.

The bride's people being apprised of the arrival of the *bariāt*, or party of the bridegroom, they send some persons to meet them taking with them a waterpot full of water and a *lāṭā*. After water has been served out all round they return to the house.

The *bariāt*, or bride's party, is then marshalled in order and goes out dancing to meet the *bariāt* who in like manner come dancing to meet them. Having met they mingle together in the dance for a short time, when a halt is called and they salute each other. Then they go dancing in a body down the village street, and at each house some raw sugar is put into the

bridegroom's mouth. Having made the round of the village they return to the place where the *bariāt* halted outside the village. Here the bridegroom is again bathed and anointed with oil and turmeric. His hair is combed and dressed and he is apparelled in new garments. This is the occasion of much joking and merriment and the young women chaff and make fun of the bridegroom to their hearts' content. This over, the bride's party return home, and presently the Jog Mānghi appears and summons them to the *sindra dan*, or marking the bride with *sindūr*. The *bariāt* is once more marshalled and, headed by the Dom musicians, proceeds to the bride's house, and waits outside in the street. Those chosen to carry out the bride, generally the bridegroom's brothers, enter the house and as a beginning are served with liquor. The bride, attired in her marriage raiment, steps into and seats herself in a large new shallow flat basket known as a *bahu daura*. The bearers then lift and bear her out into the street, where the bridegroom awaits her sitting astride on the shoulder of his brother-in-law or uncle. The bride in her basket is raised to the level of the bridegroom, and each sprinkles the other three times with water by means of a sprig of a mango tree. The fathers, uncles and aunts of the couple then salute each other in the fashion peculiar to their new relationship. Some *sindūr* in a *sarjom* leaf is then given to the bridegroom, who with the little finger of his right hand marks the bride five times on her forehead, and what of the *sindūr* remains on the leaf he wipes off on her brow. The bride is then lifted out of the basket by the bridegroom and the upper garments of the two are knotted together, so that where one goes the other must follow.

The bride's mother then brings a brass plate on which are a ball of cowdung and another of dough, some unhusked rice, a few bits of *dhubi* grass and powdered turmeric. With these on the plate she makes certain passes over the couple and then scatters the *dhubi* grass and rice on the ground behind the bridegroom's back. Then she dips a finger in a mixture of flour and water and dabs a little on his cheeks, and he also does

the same to her. Then she puts *ṭoḍor* (wristlets) on his wrists and throws the dough balls over his and her own back. Other near relatives also make passes over the couple with the brass plate and its contents, and also dab some of the mixture of flour and water on his cheeks. Fire in a *dhakni*, or earthenware pot lid, is brought out of the house and placed on the ground, and the bride's mother and aunts make a series of passes over the fire with the right hand, while holding a *tok* or long pestle used to clean rice, in the left. The last to perform this operation breaks the lid with a thrust of the pestle and the fire is quenched with water.

An adjournment is then made to the *māṇḍwā*, and the company circles three times round the post in the centre. The bride and bridegroom sit down on a mat and the girl anointers anoint them with oil and put a *sindūr* mark on each. The bridesmaid, groomsman and one or two others are also anointed with oil. The young couple and their attendants are conducted into the house and regaled with rice and milk and rice and *guṛ* (raw sugar). The *bariāt*, or bridegroom's party, then take possession of the *māṇḍwā*, and seated on straw chew tobacco and converse in veiled terms with the bride's friends. It is impossible to give in a translation anything like a fair idea of the stereotyped conversation carried on on such an occasion, as so much depends on the words and the double meaning of many of the expressions used. To bring this lengthened conversation to an end some one of the bride's party says, "Come, shall we not make our bodies, which are now like baskets set on the ground, like Palmyra palms?" (meaning, shall we not assume the perpendicular.) The hint is taken and all stand up, and after mutual salutation the *bariāt* (bridegroom's party) return to their camp under the tree on the outskirts of the village.

After a little while the Jog Mānjhi, carrying in his hand a *lōṭā* of water, goes to the encampment of the *bariāt* and, addressing them, says, "Come, let us gather pot herbs," the meaning of which is "Come, let us kill a goat for the purpose of

cooking it." The invitation thus brought to them by the Jog Mānjhi is accepted with alacrity, and headed by the Dom musicians, they proceed in a body to the bride's house and sit down in the māṇḍwā. A goat is brought in and while the Jog Mānjhi holds it one of the bridegroom's party cuts off its head with one stroke of a kapi or battleaxe. The fathers and uncles of the bride and bridegroom then salute each other, and afterwards show the same civility to all present. Liquor is now brought and the bride's father pours out a libation to Mārang-buru and the last of the departed village chiefs, at the same time praying that no harm may befall the newly married couple, winding up his prayer as follows:—"Then when they come and go may they not stumble or trip, may they keep to the right or left of loṭo thorns and kaṛke thorns." Liquor is then served all round with great liberality.

One of the bride's party addressing the go-between says, "What is there still to be attended to?" Taking the hint the go-between goes to the bridegroom's father who gives him five rupees, and he holding the money in his fist salutes the company. The go-between then says, "See, my mothers, what I have brought in the basket." Three women take the pieces of cloth out of the basket and measure them. They say they are not of full length and do not meet their requirements. Much good-natured chaff is indulged in, and joking and merriment are the order of the day. A pot of hāṇḍi, or rice beer, is brought from the Mānjhi's house and given to the *bariāt*. One of the bride's party reminds the go-between that there is a certain matter which has not been attended to, and he taking the hint goes to the bridegroom's father who gives him a rupee which he presents to the Jog Mānjhi of the bride's village. Then some time is spent in parabolic conversation and in propounding conundrums, riddles, puzzles, etc., after which the *bariāt* return to their camp on the outskirts of the village.

The go-between is sent for and informed that as all requirements of custom and usage have been fully complied with the time has arrived when they should be accorded

permission to return home, taking the bride with them. The bride's father is made acquainted with the wishes of the *bariāt* and he sends the Jog Mānjhi to their camp to invite them to come for the parting ceremonies. The *bariāt* accompany the Jog Mānjhi to the bride's house and begin to dance the Dom dance in the māṇḍwā. The bride and bridegroom are led by the hand out into the street where all follow them. The whole company of guests and relatives proceed to the head of the village street where they halt. The men and women of the bride's party range themselves in two rows, and the go-between leads the *bariāt* from one person to another announcing the new relationship and showing the proper method of salutation to which each one is entitled. The fathers, mothers, aunts and uncles of the newly married pair stand by themselves and salute each other in the manner peculiar to their relationship. This over, some one of the bride's friends says, "Come *bariāt*, let us make this the shade of a mātikom tree" (meaning, that as people sit under the shade of a mātikom tree, so they should do now). In accordance with the invitation all become seated. The bride's party begin a conversation by saying, addressing the bridegroom's father, "Do they not say that we are following in the way our fathers trod, and do they not say that a certain Mānjhi has chosen a pot out of 12 kilns full, by tapping and sounding it? Now this article has just now been made over by one man to another man, and that man is now responsible for it. Should it become a thief, or a prostitute, or become blind or lame the responsibility rests with him. Do they not also say that owing to the virtue of the cowshed cattle increase, and from the virtue of the house come sons and daughters-in-law? We shall teach them to cook rice and relish, to bring water and leaves, and fetch firewood, and should they refuse to be taught, then let that person send a man, or a walking stick to give us the information. Then shall we not all unite in instructing her? And Sirs, a certain Santāl has from to-day sold, even to bones and ashes, but the blood of the head and of the ears he has not sold, should blood be shed he will require it at your hands." Much more of a like nature passes between the parties before the final salutations take place.

Five young men, brothers of the bride by preference, and two elderly women accompany the bride. One of the men carries a *tok*, the iron bound end of which is covered, and one of the women takes a mat with her. If the parties are well-to-do and can afford it, the young folks are borne in a *chaudal*, or open *palki*, otherwise they go on foot. On reaching the entrance of the village street the party halts and begins the Dom dance. The Jog Mānjhi brings drinking water and serves it out to the company. The bridegroom's mother brings a vessel of water and some *gur* or raw sugar in a cup, and the mat, which one of the women has brought, is spread on the ground and she seats herself on it. The bridegroom sits in her lap and she puts a small quantity of *gur* in his mouth and then gives him water to rinse his mouth with. The bride then takes her place on her mother-in-law's lap and is treated in a like manner. A move is then made down the village street, the Dom dance being danced the while. At each house during their progress down the street the pair are fed with *gur*. On arriving at the residence of the Mānjhi a libation of water is poured out to the last departed village chief, and he is solemnly saluted. When the round of the village has been made the party gathers in the street opposite the door of the bridegroom's house and his younger sister brings water and washes his and his bride's feet. The bridegroom's mother again feeds the pair with *gur*, after which she brings a brass plate on which are some pieces of *dhubi* grass, a ball of dough, a few grains of rice, some semi-liquid turmeric, oil and a *toḍor*, or iron wristlet, and the bride places beside these things in the plate a small box containing *sindūr* and a comb which she has brought with her from home. The bridegroom's mother then makes certain passes over the couple with the brass plate and its contents, and then dabs a little water in which flour has been mixed on her daughter-in-law's forehead and she does the same to her mother-in-law. Then the mother-in-law puts oil on the parting of the girl's hair and combs it. Then she applies *sindūr* all down the parting of the hair. The bride then combs her mother-in-law's hair and applies *sindūr* to the parting of it. The same civilities are observed between her and five of her husband's aunts, maternal

and paternal. As was done at the bride's house, so here again, fire is brought and placed on the ground, and certain passes having been made over it with the hand the vessel containing the fire is broken by one of the bride's brothers with the *tok* he brought with him from home.

The company then adjourn to the *māṇḍwā*, and under the guidance of the bridegroom's eldest sister the couple go round the centre post. They are then seated on a mat and anointed with oil and turmeric by three unmarried girls, after which they are conducted into the house and receive rice and milk and rice and *gur*. The young folks of the village begin the Dom dance under the *māṇḍwā*, and continue it till well on for daylight.

In the morning the bride's brothers, or those who act for the nonce in that capacity, are given a light refreshment of parched rice, and are also accorded the honour of cutting off the head of a goat which will be cooked for the feast which is to follow. The floor of the *māṇḍwā* is swept and smeared with cowdung and one of the bridegroom's sisters with water in which flour has been mixed, draws figures on the ground, a representation of the Kadam* tree, being a great favourite.

Then the bridegroom's mother comes out of the house carrying a flat basket. She is followed by two aunts, one carrying a *lōṭā* of water and the other a small earthenware pot containing rice which has been brought from the bride's house. All three women have some rice in their lap. The Dom musicians are in the courtyard beating their drums, and the women go dancing into the *māṇḍwā*, and five times make the circle of the centre post, at the foot of which they shake the rice out of their laps on to the ground. The other things they had in their hands are placed in some convenient spot close by. A mat is spread over the figures traced on the floor and the bride and bridegroom sit on it. Passes are made over the earthenware pot, in which is the rice brought from the bride's house, with a flat basket in which are some pieces of *dhubi* grass and some unhusked rice. The *dhubi* grass and rice are scattered on the ground behind the backs

* *Anthocephalus Cadambu*, Bth. & Hook. f.

of the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom's mother then with the basket makes certain passes over her son and daughter-in-law, and puts a *hāsli*, or neck ornament, on the latter. Aunts continue the making of passes over the couple as long as there are any entitled to perform the ceremony.

Then the bridegroom's youngest sister bathes the feet of her eldest brother and his wife, and as she completes the operation on the feet of the latter she seizes her tightly with both hands round the ankles. The bystanders say to the bride's brothers, "See, a crab has seized her, come to her rescue." The go-between gets a *sākom*, or wrist ornament, from the brothers which he gives to her who is acting the crab, and she then lets go her hold on the ankle of her sister-in-law. The bride and bridegroom again repair to the *māṇḍwā* and go five times round the centre post, and then seek to enter the house, but the girl who performed the feet bathing and played the crab stands in the doorway and bars the entrance. This is known as *Siṇḍuār*, or the closed door, and is thought to have some reference to the *Siṇḍuār* and *Bāhiduār* of the Santāl legend. The go-between again comes to the rescue and gives her four pice, which the bride's brothers have again supplied, and she stands aside and the couple enter the house. In a minute or two the bridegroom's mother emerges, carrying the aforesaid flat basket, and is followed by the two aunts, and all go dancing into the *māṇḍwā*, and having circled five times round the centre post dance back again into the house.

The time has now arrived for the feast. The Jog Mānjhi having satisfied himself that the cooks have completed their work says, "Come, let us now give the bride's brothers a feast." They are conducted to the *māṇḍwā* and when seated a leaf plate and a leaf cup are placed in front of each. There are four attendants, one to deal out the first supply of rice, another to give the first helping of relish, a third to replenish the plates with rice, and the fourth to perform the same service with the relish. The relish is of goat's flesh cut up into small morsels and cooked with spices in such a way as to have a considerable amount of liquid in the mess. After these come all the others

in their turn, invited guests and fellow-villagers, men and women, who all partake of the marriage feast. The cooks and others who have been responsible for its preparation are not forgotten, a share of all that is going, both of food and liquor, being given to them. The whole company are then treated to hāṇḍi, which they drink out of small leaf cups.

The next morning the bridegroom's father accompanied by the Mānjhi and Parānik conducts the bride's brothers to where his herd of cattle are feeding, and points out to them a bull-calf, which it is customary for them to receive on such an occasion. If it meets with their approval, one of them gives it a slap on the back with his hand, which act is understood to mean that the gift has been accepted. The Mānjhi then addresses them as follows:—"Come, ye brothers of the bride, will you not take the property away with you?" They reply, "Let it remain here for a day or two." Towhich is answered, "Should it fall into a pit, or a ravine, be eaten by a jackal or devoured by a leopard, be stolen or cribbed, it will be to the loss of the bride's brothers." This over, the party returns to the house of the bridegroom.

The next event is the washing of the hair of the bride and bridegroom, which is done with a kind of soapy earth known as naṛkan hāsā, or hair cleansing earth. Water is mixed with some of this naṛkan hāsā and the bridegroom plasters a little of it on his bride's forehead. This act is symbolic of his having washed her hair. The bride then washes his hair, using the naṛkan hāsā as soap, and then bathes him and anoints him with oil. The bathing is performed by pouring water over the person. The bride is then bathed and anointed with oil, by some of the women present, who also pour water on her head. The bride then washes her husband's feet, after which they salute each other. She then washes the feet of the village chief and salutes him by bowing down before him; after him comes the Parānik, and then the *nāḱēkē*, whose feet she washes and bows down before them. They return her salute in the way peculiar to an elder acknowledging the salute

of a younger person. These are followed by the bridegroom's uncles, paternal and maternal, however many there may be present, whose feet she washes and salutes as before, which salute they duly acknowledge. Then the Mānjhi eṛā, or Mānjhi's wife, the Parānik eṛā, or Parānik's wife, the nāekē eṛā, or nāekē's wife, and all the aunts present have their feet washed by her, after which act she salutes them, and they acknowledge her salute in a particular way. The bridegroom's eldest brother now comes with his feet and legs swathed with straw ropes. She removes these and bathes his feet after which she seizes him firmly round the ankle with both hands. He offers her a fruit of some sort to let him go, but this she scornfully rejects. Her brothers remark that that is not sufficient inducement to cause her to relax her hold. He then gives her a brass wristlet or a sum of money, on receipt of which she releases him. They then pour water over each other. The feet bathing is continued till all the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are overtaken. She seizes each in turn firmly round the ankle and holds on until she is bribed by a present to let go. This part of the performance is the occasion of much merriment, all sorts of worthless things being proffered her, but she is obdurate and insists on getting something which is of value in her eyes, a trinket or money pleases her best. It is now the bride's turn to have her feet bathed. This is done by a sister-in-law, who also plays the crab, and receives a present. The feet bathing is brought to a conclusion by the bride and her sister-in-law saluting each other.

The bride's brothers, the invited guests, and the people of the village are then invited to enter the house and when seated the bride and bridegroom serve out liquor all round. When all have drunk the married couple are called and made to sit in the centre of the group, and are addressed with regard to the responsibilities of the new relationship into which they have entered, and advice given as to the manner in which they should comport themselves towards each other. To the bridegroom they say, "Up till to-day you have been free to

come and go. Wherever night overtook you, there stayed still morning. Now, wherever you go you must return home at night. See we have bound a *ṭoṭko** round your neck. You must shake this *ṭoṭko* and make it sound. And should the *Lagrē* or other dance be danced in the village, go together, and, if it is dark, return home together. And if you are ill or suffer pain tell each other about it. Help your wife to bring firewood and leaves.† If you go to a hunt and get any fruit eat half and take half home to your wife. If you get the flesh of an animal eat one piece and wrap the other piece up in leaves and carry it home to your wife. At all times tend and help each other, do not be separated from each other."

After a brief interval the guests and others are invited to partake of food. The bride serves out the rice and the bridegroom the relish. The feast being over, the village youth turn their attention to the bride's brothers. They are anointed with oil, their hair combed and dressed, and their eyelids painted with aenom or lampblack. Then holding each other's hands they go to the *māṇḍwā*, where they dance for a short time.

The time has now arrived for those who came with the bride to return home. The bride salutes her brothers and the two women who accompanied her, after which the two parties salute each other, and the bride's friends set out for their home. The bride follows them weeping and the girls of the village follow her, persuading her to return saying, "They will return in a few days. This is the lot of girls, what can you do?"

The young men of the village pull down the *māṇḍwā* and throw the centre post and twine into a tank. The young men and women then engage in the *Lagrē* dance, and after sunset a quantity of liquor known as the *sisir* haṇḍi or dew haṇḍi is supplied to them. The name dew haṇḍi is given to this liquor as those who drink it are out in the dew, or out till late when dew falls. At supper time the dancers receive their share of rice

* A wooden bell tied round the neck of an animal given to straying.

† With which plates, cups, etc., for family use are made. They are brought fresh from the jungle every morning.

and relish, but these are not served out to each, a large quantity is given to them and they divide it among themselves. Supper over, the festivities are at an end and all return to their respective places of abode.

After a period of five days the go-between and two of the bride's brothers go to the bridegroom's house. They are regaled with liquor and a goat or pig is slaughtered in their honour. Next day about noon they set out on their return home, taking with them the bride and bridegroom and three of their friends. On arrival at the bride's father's house the Jog Mānjhi invites the villagers to meet them and drink in their honour. The invitation is accepted by all and a merry evening is spent. The next day the bride and bridegroom are conducted home again. The services of the Jog Mānjhi are again in requisition to invite the villagers to meet the pair and drink haṇḍi in their honour.

The ceremonies and festivities connected with the marriage of a *Kirin bahu* or Bought bride are now at an end.

TUNKI DIPIL BAPLA.

Tunki is a small bamboo basket with a contracted opening, and *dipil* means to carry on the head; *bāplā* of course is marriage. It is difficult to express the idea in English, but the marriage in which the *tunki* is carried on the head, or the *tunki*-carried-on-the-head-marriage may come as near as it is possible to do. It is an incongruous idea, as the *tunki* is small and only heavy articles are carried on the head. The bridegroom does not go to fetch the bride but she comes carrying all she has in a *tunki* on her head.

This is a regular marriage. It is only resorted to by the very poor, and on that account there is no display connected with it, and little in the way of feasting or drinking. The bridegroom does not go to the bride's house to be married. A friend or two of his go to the bride and fetch her to the bridegroom's house where the *sindūr* mark is made on her forehead. As much of the ceremony detailed under the *Kirin bahu* marriage as is possible in the circumstances is observed. There are no Dom musicians present and only the Dom dance is indulged in.

HIROM CHETAN BAPLA.

This is a marriage in which a man takes a second wife during the lifetime of his first. Should the first wife be barren, a second is generally taken, and although a first wife may have children it often happens that her husband gives her a co-wife. Santals have a saying that if you wish to see quarrelling take a second wife. If the man can afford it he gives each wife a house of her own. Sometimes, however, they live together, and it is then that discord reigns in the home. If the first wife remains with her husband she continues mistress of the house.

If the proceedings are above board the services of a go-between are secured, and he receives instructions as to who he is to look out for, whether a widow or a spinster. If the bride is a spinster he pays her father twelve rupees, and he is not required to give any return presents to the bridegroom's relatives. The bride is shown by the bridegroom one half of his property, and if he should at any time get tired of her and send her away she takes that half of the property with her when she goes.

SANGHA BAPLA.

This is the form of marriage when a widower marries a widow or a divorcée or when a divorcé marries a widow or a divorced woman.

When negotiations for a union of this sort are in progress the woman is always referred to as a "felled ox" or a "chipped vessel."

A go-between is engaged by the would-be bridegroom and commissioned to look out for a suitable wife for him, a widow without encumbrance or a divorcée. The go-between having come to know of a suitable woman informs his principal who directs him to sound her father on the subject. This he does in Santal fashion by saying, "If the pot-herbs of a certain person are not being cooked, would you cook them for him?" The reply will most probably be, "Yes, if his pot-herbs are not being cooked, why should not we cook them for him, who wishes his pot-herbs cooked?" The go-between gives the name and

residence of his patron, and gives any information that may be desired. As soon as convenient the woman's father, in what to others would appear a most casual way, pays a visit to the man's house. No notice is taken by either of the proposed marriage, they meet and part in a most distantly friendly way. The woman's father has, however, seen sufficient to enable him to form a fairly accurate opinion of the wealth or otherwise of him who would be his son-in-law. Everything being considered satisfactory the go-between is sent for and informed that there are no objections to the marriage taking place. The go-between then goes to the man who is in need of a "chipped vessel" and makes his report, after which he goes to call the Mānjhi, or village chief, who when he comes enquires, "Well, friend, why have you brought me here?" He replies, "This man requested me to get some one to cook his pot-herbs for him, and I have found such a one, and you have been called to advise." After some talk the day for the marriage is fixed and intimation sent to the bride's father. On the morning of the marriage day some friends of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The gifts customary on such occasions are made. These are, one rupee as the price of the bride and one cloth with red borders and ten cubits long. When the bride and her escort arrive, the Mānjhi of the village, the Jog Mānjhi and five or six men, and the same number of elderly women are invited to the house to witness the marriage ceremony. The bride and bridegroom are anointed with oil and turmeric, and the old women anoint themselves. A Dimbu* flower is then brought and the man with his left hand puts a *sindūr* mark on it, and then, also with his left hand, inserts it in the woman's back hair. This completes the marriage ceremony. Liquor is not wanting as an aid to the proceedings.

GHARDI JAWAE BAPLA.

This is considered a regular marriage, but as the initiative is taken by the girl's father it is looked upon as less honourable than that of the *Kiriñ bahu*, or Bought bride.

* *Ocimum Basilicum*, var. *thrysiiflorum*, L.

In the case of a family where there are only daughters, one of them is generally married in this way, or where, for some reason or another, a daughter has not been sought in marriage, her father adopts this method of getting her settled in life.

A go-between is engaged to look out for a young man to whom the opportunity of obtaining a bride without cost to himself is sufficient inducement to become the sought instead of being the seeker. The go-between having found, as he thinks, a suitable young man addresses him thus, "If any one were to offer to make you a *ghardi jāwāe*," or house husband, "would you agree?" "Yes, if any one were to make me a house husband (or house son-in-law) I would accept the position." The go-between reports to the girl's father and between them a day is fixed for the marriage. No invitations are issued in advance to friends or relatives, all is done without ostentation, as being married in this way is generally regarded as reflecting upon the personal charms of the bride. On the day fixed the go-between goes to the bridegroom's employer and says, "I wish to make this young man a *ghardi jāwāe*, give him up." The reply, under most circumstances, will be, "Very well, take him." The master, having so far proved complacent, is requested, as a favour, to depute two or three persons to accompany them to the bride's house. On arrival there her father sends for the *Mānjhi* and *Jog Mānjhi* and explains matters to them. The *Jog Mānjhi* is sent to invite the neighbours to grace the occasion with their presence. The happy pair are anointed with oil and turmeric, after which the ceremony known as *sindrādān*, or marking of the bride with red lead on her forehead by the bridegroom, is observed. The bride's father is lavish with his liquor, and also provides a grand feast, which comes off in the evening.

After the marriage ceremony has been duly observed the bridegroom's sisters-in-law produce a block of wood full of knots and twisted in the grain which they request him to split with an axe which they provide him with. He may not succeed in doing so, but it gives the girls and younger women a good opportunity to make him the butt of their wit and sarcasm. A youth who

has taken upon himself the responsibilities of a husband, must show himself equal to, at least, supplying his wife with firewood, without which she cannot cook the family pot-herbs.

The pair live there as members of the family, receiving food and clothing in return for their labour, for a period of five years. The wife is entitled to certain perquisites which she carefully collects and lays past, and in a well-to-do household these will, in five years, be of considerable value. Having served his father-in-law for the customary period the ghardi jāwāe receives a yoke of bullocks, a cow and calf, a bundle of rice, a kudāli and an axe. With these and the woman's gleanings the pair set up as farmers, in a small way on their own account.

Where there are only daughters in a family the parents would be left helpless in their old age if they were all to marry and leave them. In such cases one of the daughters is given a ghardi jāwāe, or house son-in-law, who resides permanently in the house of his father-in-law. An effort is sometimes made to transfer the family land to him during the father-in-law's lifetime, but this is not always possible as the heir, or heirs, at law can object to such a proceeding, as a female cannot inherit immoveable property, and the owner can only under certain circumstances alienate it. Be this as it may, the pair receive all that can be given them during the lifetime of the woman's father, and at his death are generally in fairly well-to-do circumstances.

ITUT BAPLA.

The meaning of *itut* is to mark an unmarried woman on the forehead with red pigment, the marker to be a man. It is to a man what the Intrusion marriage is to a woman. By means of it a man can forcibly wed the woman of his choice. It is generally resorted to when there is no prospect of a regular marriage being possible. Sometimes the girl also is in the secret but not always. The place chosen by the man to carry out his design may be a fair, or market, or where the girls of the village go to draw water, or any other place which may offer the desired opportunity. The man comes prepared with a small quantity of red

lead wrapped up in a leaf, and unless the girl and he have come to an understanding surreptitiously plasters a little on her forehead, or on the parting of her hair in front. The girl on realizing what has been done to her hurries home weeping, and tells her mother the name of the man who has thus forcibly wedded her. Her father calls the villagers together and tells them the story of the injury done to his daughter and names the man who did it. He winds up his complaint by saying, "Come let us be revenged." A large party having been organized, they set out so as to arrive at the man's village sometime during the night and lie in ambush till the village cattle are turned out in the early morning to graze. They then seize a yoke of good oxen and kill two big fat goats. One goat they give to the Mānjhi of the raided village and the other they carry home with them.

They go to the house of the man's father and demand that he be delivered over to them. They are frenzied and excited and threaten if they find him to cut off one of his hands, to gouge out his eyes, to bind him hand and foot and cudgel him. He is, however, not to be found, as he no doubt fully expected such a visit, and has kept out of the way. Not finding the object of their search they give vent to their rage by an onslaught on the household utensils of his father. They enter the house, break the fireplace to pieces, and smash the water-pots, cooking pots and all other earthenware articles that the house contains. They then go home taking with them the two oxen and the carcase of the goat.

Should the matter be amicably arranged between the parents of the couple a regular marriage is the result, and the presents usual to the occasion are not overlooked.

Should no such arrangement be possible the girl remains with her father and should she be married it cannot be as a spinster, it must be as a divorced woman.

APANGIR BAPLA.

The *Apāngir* marriage is an elopement pure and simple, generally the result of mutual attachment. This and the Intrusion

marriage are the only means by which Santal lovers may become united when they choose their partners for themselves. A pair who have decided to elope make such provision for this crisis in their lives as their resources, which are usually extremely limited, will admit of. They leave their homes ostensibly to accompany a village party to a fair, or other place of amusement, and finding a suitable opportunity, either on the way to, or at the fair, they slip away and go their own road. They may settle down in the part of the country they go to, and if so good and well, they are married persons and their children are legitimate. Oftener, however, after having come to the end of their resources they return to their village and, separating, go each to his and her own home. Little will be said to them, and if there be no impediment steps will be taken to have them legally married. The man's father explains matters to the Jog Mānjhi who assembles the villagers saying, "The fig eaters have returned, come let us perform the legalizing ceremony." The name "fig eaters" applied to the pair suggests that they may have spent the time they were absent in the forest where they subsisted on wild figs.

The man's father provides a feast and pays one rupee, and the woman's father also gives a feast.

No presents pass between the parties.

- GOLAT BAPLA.

The *Golāt bāplā* is a regular marriage, but instead of a bride being bought an exchange is made.

A man who has a son and a daughter of marriageable age and who is not in a position to pay the *pōn* or price for a wife for his son calls in a go-between and commissions him to look out for a family in a like position, so that they may exchange daughters for wives to their sons. In such cases the sister must be younger than her brother, otherwise a marriage of this sort cannot take place. As there is a fair exchange of one daughter for another there is no *pōn* or compulsory giving of presents. In other respects the marriage ceremonies are the same as those

in a *Kirin bahu* marriage. It is a matter of arrangement as to whose daughter is married first. Both marriages take place with as little interval between them as is convenient to the parties concerned.

JAWAEYE KIRINOK BAPLA.

There are two forms of marriage arising out of a like circumstance, that is to say, where an unmarried woman has had a *liaison* with and become pregnant by an unmarried man. If the parties belong to septs that may intermarry one procedure is followed, and if they belong to the same sept or are nearly related on the side of the woman's mother, though of a different sept, and are, therefore, within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, another is observed.

Owing to the conditions which prevail in Santāl village life pregnancy is detected at a comparatively early stage and is brought to the notice of the Jog Mānjhi who calls the men of the village together under the presidency of the village chief. The Jog Mānjhi opens proceedings by informing the assembly of what has come to his knowledge. An enquiry is held and if the allegations of the woman are proved and the paternity of the unborn child ascertained, the relationship of the parties decides the further development of the case.

In all cases coming under this head it is the father of the man who is dealt with and who is held to be responsible. The reason being that only the head of the house has control over the property of the family. So long as the family remains united, that is until the family land, goods and chattels, etc., are divided among those who are entitled to participate, even grown-up sons have nothing that they can call their own. There is a common purse and the father only has control over it.

Supposing a legal marriage possible and the paternity of the child fixed upon a certain person, the father of that person is seized and compelled to sit for some time exposed to the direct rays of the sun. Then he is bound, his clothes stripped off. Water is then dashed on him, and he is fanned. The fanning induces extreme cold and the victim shivers violently. A heavy

log of wood is then placed on the top of him so that he is unable to stir. While he is in this condition the Mānjhi, or village chief, orders the Jog Mānjhi to conduct the woman to the man's house. The Jog Mānjhi accompanied by the woman goes to the man's house and addresses his mother as follows:—
“ We have brought you this bride, give her room in your house.”
She does not, however, tamely submit to have a daughter-in-law foisted on her in this fashion, and begins to vilify her, calling her all the bad names which the Santāl vocabulary, which is not a large one in such terms, admits of. The girl, baited beyond endurance, accuses the mother of not having looked sufficiently well after her son, of having allowed him to be out at night, and she further lays the blame on the man for the persistent attention which he paid to her. All the while the Jog Mānjhi has been patiently waiting, and after this ebullition of temper has spent itself he says, “ Come, take her in and give her a place to sleep in.” She is then conducted by the Jog Mānjhi, in the presence of witnesses, inside the house and left there. The Jog Mānjhi then returns to where the villagers are assembled and reports that the woman has been duly installed as daughter-in-law of the house. The attention of the company is then given to the man under the log. The Jog Mānjhi, who is spokesman for the occasion, addressing him says, “ Give us what is our due. We will not let you off. Give us seven rupees as *pōn*, or price of the bride and money and rice sufficient for a feast. We will not give you your liberty until you comply.” There is no help for it, he is compelled to agree and give all that is demanded. He is then liberated. The woman's father does not get the seven rupees which are paid as *pōn*, it is spent in liquor and a feast for the village elders. Although the bride has been so uncereemoniously brought home, the marriage, for such it is, is generally as happy as if it had been accompanied with all the pomp and ritual of a Bought-bride marriage.

In cases where the parties may not be legally married, for the reason given above, the procedure is more complicated. The paternity of the unborn child being reasonably established

and the relationship between the man and women not admitting of their being married, the village chief addressing the assembled village elders says, "This matter cannot be settled by me. Give information of it to the Parganā and Deś Mānjhi. And from to-day let no one eat or drink in this man's house, let no one smoke or chew tobacco with them, and should relatives come to visit them, forbid them also having any intercourse with them."

On a day fixed by consultation with those interested the Parganā, Deś Mānjhis and Mānjhis from the surrounding villages meet to effect a settlement. The Parganā addressing the fathers of the delinquents says, "Your son and daughter have been found guilty. Have you anything to say?" They will most probably reply, "What can we say now that the thing has happened?" The Parganā then says, "I fine you a hundred rupees and a hundred plates of food and if you do not give them I shall have you outcasted at the annual hunt, and fix a flag before the door of each of you." (The flag is a leaf plate from which food has been eaten.) If they are wealthy men they pay at once, otherwise they beg to be let off a part, which is usually acceded to, and the fine fixed at a sum that they can pay. Should one or both refuse to pay up they are proclaimed at the first annual hunt following, and are formally deprived of all the privileges which as members of the Santāl tribe they had hitherto enjoyed.

Meetings of this sort are held in the open air at some little distance from the village and with the money received as fines a feast is prepared. When the viands are ready to be served out the Parganā smears a small space of ground with cowdung and water, and on the place thus prepared a leaf plate of rice, a leaf cup containing a relish of flesh meat cooked with spices, a lōtā and a brass plate on which are five rupees, are set before him. The Parganā then offers a portion of the food to Siñ-boṅga, or the sun, and addresses him as follows:—"I salute thee, Oh! Sun of the sky. Behold, the son of such a one (giving the name), and the daughter of such a one (also giving

the name), having been found guilty of incest we are by this feast re-admitting them into caste." What remains of the food after the offering has been made is not eaten, but thrown away. The lēṭā, brass plate and money are appropriated by the Parganā.

The foregoing has had reference only to the position of the parties and their relatives with regard to tribal customs, and what follows is designed as reparation to the yet unborn child, so that it may not come into the world with the stigma of illegitimacy on it. This is effected by some one being bribed to take the woman as his wife and assume the paternity of the child. This form of marriage is called *Jawaeye kiriṇok bāplā*, or the buying of a husband. If possible, the choice of one to become the woman's husband and stand sponsor for the child falls upon her brother-in-law. An elder sister seldom raises any objection to having a younger sister as a co-wife, so that this is in every way the best solution of the matter. The man's father is mulcted in a yoke of oxen, a cow with a calf at foot, a quantity of unhusked rice, a kudāli or digging implement, and an axe, all of which are made over to the bridegroom, who is addressed by the Parganā as follows :—

"Young man, we have caused all this property to be given to you. You will shave your head." The shaving of the head refers to the ceremony which is observed by a father when a child is born, and is equivalent to acknowledging its paternity.

The families of the man and woman unite in giving a feast and the fathers serve out the food. After the lords of creation have had their wants supplied the women and children are feasted. The Mānji's wife receives a present of three rupees, which are presented to her on a leaf plate. If this money be not given to her she refuses to partake of food, and as to allow her to leave without joining in the feast would be a disgrace, she is always certain to be given this her perquisite.

The *Bāplā bhōj*, or marriage feast over, the assembly breaks up, leaving all parties in good standing with their fellows.

NIRBOLOK BAPLA.

The English translation of the above is as near as possible "The Intrusion Marriage." It consists in a young unmarried woman intruding herself into the house of the parents of a young man upon whom she has set her affections, or with whom there may have been love passages, and he has ceased showing her attention. Being hurt at the treatment she has been subjected to she resolves to venture on the Intrusion marriage, and thus assert what she regards as her right. It is always Leap year in Santalia and a Santāl maiden need never pine away in single blessedness or sigh her heart out for the man she loves. She has the privilege of choosing a husband for herself, and there is no escape for him by paying a forfeit.

A young woman having decided upon a *Nirbolok* marriage takes a few of her companions into her confidence and informs them of her design, and looks to them for their countenance and assistance. She prepares a large pot of hāṇḍi or beer, and carrying it poised on her head goes straight into the inmost apartment and having disposed of her pot of liquor sits down to await events. She has, of course, chosen her time so that there is no one to oppose her entering. The action has been performed in daylight before witnesses and it soon spreads that such a woman has gone into such a man's house. The man's mother, when she hears of it, is greatly incensed, but by the unwritten law governing such cases she is precluded from ejecting her from her house by force. If she can by hook or by crook prevail upon her to come out herself she is at liberty to do so. Of course, a small crowd soon assembles in the courtyard, some of whom sympathize with the intruder, and others take the part of the man against her. The mother, however, sets to work resolutely to do her level best to drive her out. She carefully closes up all apertures by which air can enter and then flings a large handful of pepper into the fire, and shutting the door anxiously awaits the result of her strategy. A Santāl house is generally divided into two apartments by a partition wall about five feet high, so that there is no obstruction to the fumes of

the burning pepper pervading every corner of it. The crowd in the courtyard are speculating as to whether she will be able to hold out or not, and the mother is scolding in her shrillest tones. When a considerable time has elapsed the spectators begin to urge the irate dame to open the door, as the fumes of the burning pepper must have in a large measure become innocuous. She, thus counselled, opens the door and the girl is brought out into the fresh air, where she rapidly throws off the effects of the burning pepper. By the time she has recovered her breath her mother-in-law,—for they now stand in the relation to each other of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law,—appears with a quantity of *janhe*,* with which she has mixed some oil. This she puts in the *qhinki* or large mortar and orders her daughter-in-law to pound it into flour. This, of course, owing to the presence of the oil is impossible, but a brave attempt is made and continued till the bystanders begin to indulge in uncomplimentary remarks directed against the older woman, and she feeling the force of them, or being ashamed to longer indulge her spite brings the exhibition to a close. She accepts the position and, as the story books say, all live happily together.

No price is paid for an Intrusion bride and there are no compulsory presents.

* Unhusked grain of *Paspalum scrobiculatum*.

VI.—The History of Orissa in the Seventeenth Century, reconstructed from Persian Sources.

II.—By Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

(Continued from issue of June 1916, pages 152—165.)

SECTION 10.—REVENUE COLLECTION.

After taking effective possession of the province and restoring order in this way, Khān-i-Daurān, early in 1662, sent five elephants as his present to the Emperor on the occasion of the marriage of two of his (the Khān's) sons, together with two other elephants presented by the Sultān of Golkondā. (*Muraqat*, page 53.) These, as we know from the official history (*Alamgir-namah*, 751), reached the Court at the end of May. The forests of Telingānā, immediately west of Orissā and lying in the Golkondā territory, were famous for elephants, and these animals formed the usual present from the governors of Orissā to the Padishāh. In May 1628 Shāh Jahān received five elephants from Bāqar Khān and in September 1636 eight others from Mutāqad Khān. (Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, I.A. 201 and I.B. 216.)

Elephants, however, were occasional presents. The normal revenue also began to be sent to the Imperial Court regularly from this time. Having "punished all the usurpers, oppressors, and lawless men of the province, and made them obedient," Khān-i-Daurān could report to the Emperor, "the revenue is being collected by our officers"; and, as a proof of it, he at once transmitted to the exchequer at Delhi "the accumulated revenue of 15 lakhs of rupees, kept at Katak and the parganās, together with seven pieces of cloth (*parchak*), one piece of scarlet

cloth, and two caskets of *Chlāni* decorated in the Dutch style." These were escorted by his own men as far as Rājmaḥal,* whence they were to be sent to Court with the revenue of Bengal. (*Muraqat*, page 50.)

He next devoted himself to realizing the portion of the Golkondā tribute which "appertained to the province of Orissā," being paid from the Golkondā district of Chicācole. This money had naturally remained unpaid during the civil war between Aurāngzib and his brothers. Its exact amount was also in dispute. The Qutbshāhi agent at Chicācole (Haidār Khān) asserted that he had paid the fixed sums of Rs. 12,000 and Rs. 1,000 during every year of Shujā's viceroyalty. But the papers sent from Delhi put the tribute at Rs. 20,000 a year. Khān-i-Daurān succeeded in collecting Rs. 80,000 out of the arrears under this head, and sent an agent to Chicācole to dun for the balance. (Page 51.)

Evidently all the financial records of Shujā's time had been lost or destroyed by dishonest officers (page 60), and this produced uncertainty about other imperial dues also. For example, the Emperor knew the tribute of the zamindārs of Saraughara to be Rs. 8,000 a year, but could not say what additional sum they used to pay as succession fee. Khān-i-Daurān wrote in reply, "I find from the old records of the *subāh* that they used to pay Rs. 10,000 as succession fee, but then their annual tribute was nothing like what your Majesty represents it. They used to pay something as *nazar* at intervals of two or three years [but no regular tribute]. I have now laid on Purushottam Dev Rs. 10,000 as fee for succeeding his brother [in the zamindāri], which has been fully realized." (Page 61.)

Severe measures had to be taken with the revenue collectors and zamindārs lest they should defraud the Government of its dues. Khān-i-Daurān writes thus to Muhammad Jān, a former diwan of the province, whom he had appointed (page 196) land-steward or factor (*sāhib-i-ikhtamām*) for his fiefs from

* Later, the Orissā revenue used to be delivered to the faujdar of Burdwan for transmission to Court. (Page 189.)

Bhadrak to the southern limit of Orissā :—" Balabhadra and Brajanath *ganungos*, who have been released from prison, and Paramānanda, the zamindār of Rāhmachnan (?), are sent to you in chains under a bailiff (*sazawal*) as asked for by you...If you fear that before my arrival near Katak the zamindars will carry off the crops, then write urging the *amils* to collect the dues and attach the standing crops. Appoint men to guard the grain." (Pages 163, 164.) And, again, to Mān Singh, the faujdar of Remuna :—" Send select men to hasten the gathering in and guarding of the crops and the collection of the Government dues...Send them quickly that the revenue (i.e., Government share) of the autumn harvest may not be removed." (Page 182.)

The inference naturally suggested by the above passages, namely, that in Mughal times the revenue of Orissā was collected in the form of rice, is definitely supported by a letter from Murshid Quli Khān to Aurāngzib written about 1704: " The revenue-collection of Orissā depends on the autumn harvest, which has to be kept stored for a long time, and, in spite of all my devices, cannot be sold." To this the Emperor replied, " I have heard that traders take the crop and in return for it they bring from the ports whatsoever is in demand." (Inayetullāh's *Aḥkam-i-Alamgiri*, Rāmpur MS., 2196.) Khān-i-Daurān says the same thing,— " In this country the realization of the land-revenue of the whole year depends on the three months of autumn." (Page 65.) " As for the *malangi* boats for loading rice in, they have not been procured owing to the bad conduct of the *dāroghā* of the port. Get boats from the zamindārs of the mahal, and send the rice to the port to be shipped in the sailing season." (Page 165, see also page 146.)

Some incidental light is thrown on the State purchase of local industries. Khān-i-Daurān writes to Muhammad Jān, " The officers of the Imperial Government have reported that 210 *kudi* of cloth, of the *sahan*, *borbarah*, *do-suti* and *thati* varieties, 20,000 maunds of rice, 300 maunds of mustard oil (' yellow oil '), 260 maunds of sesamum, 100 maunds of *galmosafr*

are required for provisioning the ships [of the State]. According to the schedule attached to this letter, urge the officers of Jājpur, Bhadrak and other mahals in your faujdāri to get them ready quickly and send them before the sailing season to the port of Bāleshwar to Muhammad Bāqar, the dāroghā of ship construction." [This is evidently a reference to Shaistā Khān's vigorous naval construction programme with a view to his conquest of Chittāgong in 1665.*] "The price of these things will be deducted from the amounts due from the *amlas*."

"The *amlas* should advance to the weavers, artisans, oil vendors, etc., money for the things ordered. First, settle the price with the help of brokers. Then, take bonds with the attestation of the brokers for the delivery of the goods in time. Send the *do-suli* before the other articles to the dāroghā that he may make sails with them. All the *kalāpatīs* and *najārs*,—master craftsmen and blacksmiths,—living at the port of Harishpur and other places, should be won over and sent to Bāleshwar, to engage in shipbuilding [for the Government] there. Dated 28th December, 1664." (Pp. 173--175.)

We also learn that "Rs. 39,000 was due from the chaudhuri and qanungo of Chāklā Medinipur, on account of the *taqārvī* loan and *pottan* to the peasants." (Page 189.) A much larger amount must have been granted by the State for this purpose.

SECTION II.—COMPARATIVE REVENUE RETURNS.

No useful or very reliable return of the total revenue of Orissā during the seventeenth century can be constructed, first because the area under imperial rule varied considerably from time to time, and, secondly, because the Persian statistical books (*Dastur-ul-aml*) now extant are very badly written and occasionally drop certain figures out of a sum and thus give palpably wrong amounts. In these MSS. arithmetical figures are not represented by the Arabic numerals (as in all modern countries), nor by letters of the alphabet (as in the Roman system of notation and

* See J.A.S.B., 1907, p. 406, and my *History of Aurāngzib*, III., 231.

the Arabic *abjad*), but by *raqaim* or groups of symbolic marks suggestive of Chinese writing. The slightest carelessness or indistinctness in writing these *raqaim* may turn 20 into 2,000. The following comparative study of the revenue of Mughal Orissā at different periods is placed before the reader with the warnings that (a) the area assessed was not always the same, (b) these figures give only the standard or paper assessment, while the actual collection fluctuated from year to year and was always short of these amounts, and (c) some of the figures quoted below are probably unreliable or incorrectly transcribed in the Persian MSS.—

Revenue of Orissa.

1594 A.D.	Rs.	31,43,316.	(<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i>) ii, 142-144
1648 „	Rs.	50,00,000	(<i>Abdul Hamid's</i> <i>Padishahnamah</i>) ii, 711
1654 „	Rs.	56,39,500	(<i>Dastur-ul-aml</i> used by Thomas)
1665 „	Rs.	72,70,000	(Bernier, 457)
c 1690 „	Rs.	35,70,500	(<i>Dastur-ul-aml</i> Br. Mus. Or, 1612 f.5, b)
c 1695-1700	Rs.	43,21,025	(<i>Dastur-ul-aml</i> used by Thomas)
c 1695 A.D.	Rs.	1,01,02,625	(<i>Khulasat-ut-</i> <i>tawarikh</i> , 32a)
c 1697-1707	Rs.	57,07,500	(Manucci, ii. 414)
1707 A.D.	Rs.	35,70,500	(Ramusio)
1707 „	Rs.	35,70,275	a givandas, in India Office MS. 1799, p. 5.
Tieffenthaler,	Rs.	35,70,525.	

It will be seen that the 5th, 9th, 10th and 11th of the above figures are all 'derived from the same source, viz., an official return. The amount mentioned in the *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh** is clearly wrong. The rather high figures given by Bernier and Manucci are not necessarily incorrect, but may be due to the efficient administration of Khān-i-Daurān and Murshid Qulī Khān respectively.

* For the *Khulasat*, see my *India of Aurāngzib : Statistics, Topography and Roads*, xiv, lviii, 47, 48.

SECTION 12.—THE DIWANS AND THEIR METHOD OF REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

List of Diwāns of Orissa.

Miān Muhammad Jān, ?—1657 ; dismissed, lived at Bāleshwar, afterwards (1661) appointed land-agent of the Subāhdār, Khān-i-Daurān.

Mir Ismāil, ?—October 1660.

Mirzā Ibrāhīm, Bakhshi, officiates as diwān also, October 1660—March 1661, dismissed.

Muhammad Hāshim, March 1661—*c.* 1663, dismissed.

Muhammad Tāhir, died in the province.

Muhammad Taqi, *c.* October 1664--1665 ?

Khawājah Muhammad Mumin, *c.* 1665—?

Owing to the political disturbances through which the province had passed at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, the loss of financial papers, and the appointment of an almost entirely new staff of officials, the revenue department was in a very unsatisfactory and confused condition during the first few years of Aurāngzib's reign. Some of the provincial diwāns seem to have been inefficient, slack or dishonest ; otherwise we cannot account for their rapid succession and frequent dismissal. A permanent diwān arrived in March 1661 in the person of Muhammad Hāshim. This man set to work with the proverbial energy of a new broom. Proud of having been appointed from the Court by the officiating Imperial Chancellor (Rājā Raghunāth Khatri) and no doubt charged with a mission to reform the administration of the department and realize the State dues fully, he reached the province with a contempt for his predecessors in office and a deep-rooted suspicion that the Subāhdār had been robbing the State in collusion with the local diwāns.

Muhammad Hāshim, diwān, started by rudely quarrelling with Khān-i-Daurān. The Subāhdār wrote to him on 1st July, 1661, "Your predecessors were Muhammad Jān and Mir Ismāil. You have called for their papers. What objection can I possibly have to giving them to you? Muhammad Jān gave up his

office long ago, and has since then been living at Jājpur on account of ill-health. You complain that Mir Ibrāhim, Bakhshi, has usurped and appropriated to himself some villages in the parganā of Sarsatibisi. What his agents have collected from that parganā will be paid into the imperial treasury. You write that the amil of parganā' Karmul has misappropriated some money collected in that mahal. I order an inquiry to be made, and in case the allegation is found true, the man will be beaten to make him disgorge the money." (Pp. 141, 142, see also 142—145.)

The new diwān seems to have set himself up as a centre of defiance to the provincial governor's authority, and introduced confusion into the executive government. As Khān-i-Daurān wrote to him, "You have summoned the employés of the Mint to Hariharpur. Have you received any order from the Emperor to set up a Mint there? If not, send the men immediately back to Katak to do their former work." [Then follows a censure of the diwān's conduct.] "The men of the imperial artillery, starving through non-payment of their salary, have come away from the outposts where they were stationed. You should come here quickly and grant them *tan* (cash pay) according to the regulations." (Pp. 146, 147.) We learn a little later that their pay had been stopped on the plea of checking the accounts!

Even in the department of revenue collection, the inconsiderate and capricious methods of Muhammad Hāshim spelt ruin to the imperial administration. As Khān-i-Daurān wrote to Aurāngzib :—

"The mahals of crownland (*khalsa*) have been reduced to desolation and their affairs have fallen into confusion, by reason of the harsh assessment (*tashkhis*) of an unsuitable amount of revenue and the neglect of attention to details by Muhammad Hāshim, the diwān. The villages have been ruined by his harsh exactions. He used to transact business in this way: when a candidate for revenue-collectorship (*krori*) accepted, the post, Hāshim Khān used to impose on him the (paper)

assessment of the *parganā* and send him there, before he could learn about the (actual) yield of the place. After a short time, another man was secured for the same post, and Hāshim Khān, taking money for himself from this man, dismissed the former collector, appointed the second man and made him promise in writing to pay a larger revenue than the first *krori* had engaged for. After a little more, a third man appeared, offering a still higher sum to the State, and he was sent as collector to the *parganā*, on his giving a bribe to Hāshim Khān and signing a bond (*muchalka*) for the payment of a larger revenue! The Khān never informed the zamindārs, headmen (*chaudhūris*) and ryots about this assessment (*jamā-bandi*), but kept them full of anxiety and distraction as to the State demand. He has thus increased the revenue [on paper] twofold in some places and threefold in others, while the ryots, unable to pay, have fled [from their homes] and the villages have turned into a wilderness....When Muhammad Hāshim arrived in person to make a settlement (*band-o-bast*), the ryots, already brought to death's door by his oppression and harsh exactions, [mostly] fled on hearing the news of it. Some of them, unable to pay the demand, have died under blows; most others are in prison. It is impossible for me to report [fully] the grievances of the ryots, who, having sold their wives and children, have barely succeeded in keeping body and soul together." (Pages 63, 64.)

As Muhammad Hāshim refused to follow the advice of Khān-i-Daurān and reform his ways, the latter wrote to the Imperial Chancellor to remove him and appoint another *diwān* (page 65). This was done, either late in 1662 or early in 1663 (as Rājā Raghunāth, to whom the Governor's letter was addressed, died on 2nd June, 1663).

SECTION 13.—ISLAM IN ORISSA.

The pro-Islāmic ordinances issued by Aurāngzib early in his reign and described in my *History of Aurāngzib*, Volume III,

pages 89—106, were enforced in Orissā also. On page 203 of the *Muraqat-i-Hassan* is given the text of the proclamation by which “the *faujdārs*, *thānādārs*, *gumashtahs* of *jagirdārs*, *amils*, *kroris*, ferrymen, road-guards, *chaudhuris*, *qanungos* and *zamindārs*, of the entire *subah* of Orissā” are told that His Majesty the Emperor had abolished the duty on “the commodities mentioned in the following schedule,” for the good of his subjects, and that these officers should abstain from levying the taxes and should keep the roads open for the transit of goods, on pain of imperial displeasure and chastisement. The schedule is not given in my MS., but we know from other sources what the abolished duties were. (See page 80 of my *History of Aurāngzib*, Vol. III.)

The beginning of Aurāngzib’s reign saw the strict restoration of the offices of Canon Law Judge (*qazi*) and Censor of Public Morals (*mukhtasib*) enjoined by Islāmic rule and precedent, in every province and important town. Shaikh Junaid was appointed *mukhtasib* of Katak, and his duties are described on page 196. (See also *History of Aurāngzib*, III, 93, 94.) Of the *qazis* of Katak we find two names: Rahmatullah, who was dismissed for misconduct and violation of canon law, and Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus, who succeeded him both as *qazi* and *mir-i-adil*, on a salary of Rs. 4 daily, in 1665. (Pages 192—195 and 125.)

At the end of the sixteenth century, Orissā, like many other parts of Eastern India, was notorious for the castration of children and their sale as eunuchs by their mercenary parents. (Jarrett’s *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 126.) In 1663 Aurāngzib issued a general order forbidding this wicked practice throughout his empire. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 75.) Even some years earlier he had made the Imperial Chancellor, Rājā Raghunāth Khatri, write to the Governor Khān-i-Daurān, a “letter by order” telling him that in Orissā many people used to castrate their sons, that Shujā had forbidden it during his viceroyalty, and that the *subāhdār* should put a stop to the practice immediately on the receipt of this imperial order. Khān-i-Daurān replied, “I have made careful inquiries, but found no trace of this practice. They say that it has never

been done in this province from ancient times to this." (Pages 75, 76.)

The Muhammadan rulers of India used to make grants of rent-free land to the holy men and scholars of their faith as "help to subsistence" (*madad-i-mash*). Several instances of this system are given in the *Muraqat*. "Shaikh Abul Khair lives like a *dartish* in a monastery in the village of Qutbpur in *sarkar* Goāl-pār. For the last 24 years he has been enjoying as his *madad-i-mash* a village named Darbast-Jasrā in parganā Kasijurāh in that *sarkār*, in accordance with the *sanads* of former governors. The papers sent by the Khān-i-Khānān (i.e., Mir Jumlā) to the diwān of this *subāh* show the village as resumed to the State. Please move the Emperor to restore this faqir's grant." (Khān-i-Daurān to the Imperial Chancellor, pages 78, 79.) "Shaikh Bar-khurdar, a member of the Naqshbandi order and a holy monk of Katak, enjoys as his *madad-i-mash* a village yielding Rs. 317 a year, named Nur-tānk in parganā Karmul, in *sarkar* Katak. I recommend for him the additional grant of one Rupee daily from the income of the *chabutra* of the *mir-i-bahar* (admiral or *ghāt* officer) of Katak." (Khān-i-Daurān to the Chief Sadar of the empire, page 124.) We also have a *parwānah*, dated 13th December 1665, conferring a *madad-i-mash* village in parganā Baqarabād, *sarkar* Katak, on Hākīm Muhammad Rāfi. (Page 200.)

The *Murāqat* also throws light on Aurāngzib's policy of temple-destruction. On page 172 the governor writes to his agent Muhammad Jān: "The destruction of the temple of Kendrāpārā and the building of a mosque there has greatly pleased me." Page 202 gives the following general order for the demolition of Hindu places of worship:

"To all *fauj-dārs*, *thānādārs*, *mutasaddis*, agents of *jāgirdārs*, *kroris*, and *āmlās* from Katak to Medinipur on the frontier of Orissā. The imperial Paymaster Asād Khān has sent a letter written by order of the Emperor, to say that the Emperor, learning from the news-letters of the province of Orissā that at the village of Tilkuti in Medinipur a temple has been [newly]

built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in this province by the...infidels. Therefore, you are commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on the receipt of this letter you should destroy the above-mentioned temples. Every idol-house built during the last 10 or 12 years, whether with brick or clay, should be demolished without delay. Also, do not allow the...Hindus and...infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of temples should be sent to the Court under the seal of the *qazis* and attested by pious Shaikhs."

SECTION 14.--TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The following *faujdāris* or subdivisions, each under a *faujdār*, are incidentally mentioned in the *Muraqat*:—

1. Chākā Medinipur, from Medinipur to Nārāyanganrh, (Pp. 38, 188.)

2. Remuna, on the frontier of Mayurbhanj. (Pp. 181, 109.) Five miles north-west of Balāsore.

3. Katak. (Pp. 137.)

4. Pipli Niur, beyond the Kātjhuri river. (Pp. 52.) Twenty-two miles due north of Puri.

5. Padishāhnagar, beyond the Kātjhuri river. (Pp. 52.)

6. Pachhera (Pp. 62.) *Panchira*, west of the Baitarani, 24 miles west of Bhadrak and 3 miles west of Killah Amboh.

7. Sarang-garh and Sandhahpur ['Sarangerh and Santrapur' of Stirling, page 49.] (Page 82.)

8. Talmāl. (Pp. 145, 154, 163.)

9. Mālud, "on the frontier facing the Deccan." (Pp. 81, 158, 160, 162.) South of Lake Chilkā, 19°33'N. 85°19'E.

All the above are mentioned by Stirling (48, 49) as Mughal thanahs, with the exception of *Padishāhnagar*, the nearest approach to which in Stirling's list is *Alemghir Shirgerh*.

We also learn that Soroh was on the frontier of Bhadrak and Lakhanpur on that of Keonjhar (*Muraqat*, pp. 41, 59.) As for *Khalikōt* (this *Journal*, page 156) or *Kailikot* (*ibid*, page 164), Stirling (page 45) mentions the zamindāri of *Kalicote* as 'a Hill Estate, now under the Ganjam District.

Separated from Orissā about 1730." Fifteen miles due north of Ganjām Town.

Mansurgarh.—I find a *Mansur-Kota* 12 miles south-west of Ganjām and 8 miles due east of Berhampur.

Hariharpur.—Nine miles south of Baripādā (in the Mayurbhanj State.)

Narsinghpur.—North of the Mahānadi 20°27'N. 85°7'E.

Nilgiri.—Eleven miles south-west west of Balāsore.

Soroh.—On the railway line, midway between Balāsore and Bhadrak.

Khurdā.—The old fort stands 5½ miles west of the Khurdā Road station.

Kujang.—20°14'E. 86°34'E. on the seacoast.

Dompārā.—19 miles south-west west of Katak.

Malipārā.—Eleven miles south south-east of Dompara.

Kālupārāh.—"Gurr Kallopārā" of *Indian Atlas*, sheet 116, 5 miles south-east of the Khurda Road station.

Mulri.—"Mootoree" of the *Atlas*, 1 mile north-west of Kalloparra.

Khurdiā.—"Gurr gorodhea" of the *Atlas*, 2 miles south-west of Kallopārā.

Bani.—On the south bank of the Mahānadi, 23 miles south-west west of Katak.

Ranpur.—20°4'N. 85°25'E.

Talmal.—At the north-east corner of Lake Chilka, 15 miles north-west west of Puri.

Harishpur Garh.—On the seacoast, 20°4'N. 86°29'E.

Kanika.—Along the seacoast, north of Point Palmyras and south of 21°N. Latitude.

Kulrāh.—"Khulardāh" of *Atlas*, 8 miles south south-east of Katak.

Bhānpur.—Fourteen miles north of Kalikot. (Sheet 107.)

Rawata.—There is a parganā "Raootrah" in *Atlas*, due north-east of Balāsore, across the river. (Sheet 115.)

Backhara or *Machhara* is a mistake for *Panchira* of the *Atlas* and *Pachhera* of Stirling. It was at the gate of the Keonjhar State.

VII.—Ho Riddles.

By Girindra Nath Sarkar, B.A.

The asking of riddles is in vogue among the Hos, and may be said to be one of their main sources of amusement. In Ho hamlets, it is usual to find, in the evening, Ho lads sitting in a group on a *chatai* (palm-leaf mat) spread on the floor of the hut, or if the weather permits, on a number of *parkums* (bamboo cot) in the open courtyard, propounding and solving riddles. Ordinarily one of the lads of the group propounds a riddle while others try to find the answer. I give below a few specimens of such riddles :—

1. *Miāt ōāren urikō*
Hār hunḍi kōredō
Punḍigeākō
Tāngū tāngā kōredō
Heṇḍē punḍi jengū hobāoā.

TRANSLATION.

Cattle of the same shed,
 When collected (all) are white ;
 When dispersed, some will be black,
 Some will be white and some will be red.

Answer.—*Simprō*. (Fowls' eggs.)

[Fowls' eggs are all white. But when young ones are hatched, some of them appear white, some appear black, and others appear red.]

2. *Miāt gē gādē hārā*
Miāt būrūrē tōl gōeānā.

TRANSLATION.

A green bullock got caught in a forest [lit., (wooded) hill] and died.

Answer—*Tumām*, (*Ta.ar-worm*.)

3. *Miāt uri anrkēlē sinā*
Rākekingto bārū hobānā.

TRANSLATION.

I yoked a single cow and ploughed [the field]. I unfastened it and it became two.

Answer.—*Kārkar.*

[A green twig bitten at the end into a brush used in cleaning the teeth].

4. *Punur lātār beteng beteng.*
Beteng lātār sāhed
Sāhed latār lumur lumur
Ayūmkedām chi kā.

TRANSLATION.

It twinkles under the bush,
 A breeze blows underneath,
 It chatters under the breeze,
 Did you hear [what it is] or not?

Answer.—*Mutā.* (Face.)

[This is the face having eyes under the eyebrows, breath coming out of the nostrils under the eyes and underneath the lips chattering all the time].

5. *Mi pōō gāngāi ālā*
Kām lehā dāiyā.

TRANSLATION.

You will not be able to count a cupful of fried maize.

Answer.—*Ipil.* (Stars.)

6. *Horā horātē h. nḍē*
Bāyār borākūnā.

TRANSLATION.

A black rope moving along a path.

Answer.—*Ilāmmui.* (Black ants.)

[A row of black ants moving along a path.]

7. *Hōntē tolātuiā*
Aputē huping horā senoānā.

TRANSLATION.

The father tethered his child behind and went off through a narrow path.

Answer.—*Kākāru dāru*. (A gourd creeper.)

8. *Miāt gē bururē*
Hōngē sitiā
Anjā nibiureā.

TRANSLATION.

A little child roamed about in a forest with rapid strides and came back.

Answer.—*Holāt* (Razor.)

9. *Miāt gē kuihōn*
Kōē etamtānā
Hē bē dupilākedā

TRANSLATION.

A girl carries about babies under her two arms.

Answer.—*Gāngāi dāru*. (A maize plant.)

10. *Apē oāreā birōākō*
Dūr-dūr tānko nireā.

TRANSLATION.

The waterfowls of your house are flying off.

Answer.—*Sākam pōō*. (Leaf-cups.)

[At festivals and marriage ceremonies, Ho lads and maidens drink quantities of rice beer or diāng (Hindi, *Hanṛiā*) to stimulate their activity after a dance. They drink it from cups made of *Sal* leaves. They throw the cups down aside when done with, and when they are carried away by the wind they look like a flock of birds in flight.]

11. *En oā sen*
Ter oā sen
Udurkanti gūreānā.

TRANSLATION.

To this room it goes,
 To that room it goes,
 When thrown off,
 Down it falls.

Answer.—*Janō*. (A broomstick.)

12. *Ati! aūmtānām?*
Mātā cketān jāng menā.

TRANSLATION.

Listen to me! Do you hear?

A ripe fruit, the stone is above.

Answer.—*Songsong.* (A marking-nut.)

13. *Sīrmā bīur ātē dub.*

TRANSLATION.

It whirls in the sky and enters the earth.

Answer.—*Kudlām.* (A spade.)

14. *Jā chetān dā*
Dā chetān dārū
Dārū chetān hāsā
Hāsā chetān nājam
Nājam chetān sengēl.

TRANSLATION.

Water above fruit,
 Wood above water,
 Earth above wood,
 Intoxicating drug above earth,
 Fire above drug.

Answer.—*Bhurka.* (Hubble-bubble.)

15. *Hōnrē Lijā*
Mārāngrē toto
Barē jatō
Bitar unḍū

TRANSLATION.

When young [it is] clothed,
 When adult [it is] naked,
 On the head [it has] matted hair,
 Hollow within.

Answer.—*Mat.* (Bamboo.)

[When the first sprout comes out of the tap-root of a bamboo, it appears to be wrapped round with a piece of snow-white cloth. This cover gradually vanishes, and twigs twisted together appear on the top of the bamboo.]

16. *Miāt engārēā hōnkō*
Bālēkānrē dōkō
Hāpānākō
Mārāngēānrekō
Sāben chābāōā.

TRANSLATION.

Children of the same mother while young all are calm and quiet. When grown up, all are finished.

Answer.—*Jāū.* (A barley plant.)

17. *Mi guā hārākō,*
Mendātē mendā
Diringtēkuā.

TRANSLATION.

A cowshed full of cows whose horns are all bent down.

Answer.—*Kādāl.* (A cluster of plantains.)

18. *Miāt engārēā hōnkō*
Pundigeāko chā beākō.

TRANSLATION.

Children of the same mother are all gaping and looking white.

Answer.—*Kātsom.* (A cotton plant with its pods opened.)

19. *Miāō hāpānūm*
Sābi pū
Murki pereākānā

TRANSLATION.

A woman wearing ear-rings all over her body.

Answer.—*Mūsri dhinri* (the pod of the masur or *Eroum lens.*)

20. *Chiā ām nelāām ?*
Apeā ba geleā kāntā.

TRANSLATION.

Have you seen [a creature with] three heads and ten feet ?

Answer.—*Hārākin Sitāni* [a man ploughing (with two bullocks yoked to a plough.)]

21. *Gārā gārātē*

Lāō tāō.

TRANSLATION.

From river to river it jumps.

Answer.—*Jālam.* (A fishing net.)

22. *Upun hō tāikenā miāt ūli sūbā ē.*

Uli miāt iulenā.

Nelkenido kū hālāngkedā

Ka nelkenidō hālāngkedā.

Hālāngkedido hāe jōmkedā

Kā hālāngkedi jōmkedā

Jomkedido kāe b ānā

Kā jōmkeni biānā.

TRANSLATION.

There were four men under a mango tree.

A mango fell from it.

He who saw it did not pick it up.

He who did not see it, picked it up.

He who picked it up, did not eat it.

He who did not pick it up, ate it.

He who ate it, could not satisfy his hunger.

He who did not eat it, had his hunger satisfied.

Answer.—*Met, ti, ā, lāi.* (The eyes, the hands, the mouth
the belly.)

VIII.—The Baud Charter of Kanakabhanja Deva (Circa 1475 A.D.)

By B. C. Mazumdar, B.L., M.R.A.S.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

1. How and when this copper-plate charter, consisting of three plates, came to the possession of a Khond peasant of Baud could not be ascertained. When the peasant was induced to sell this document to the Nāib Tahasildār of Sonpur, all that could be ascertained was that the plates had been long in his possession and that he was under the delusion that he could get a clue to some buried wealth if only he could decipher the inscription. From the recital in the plates it is quite clear that the charter relates to a village of the Baud state which was bounded on the north by the river Tel which forms the natural boundary line between the states of Baud and Sonpur.

2. Three plates, each of which measures $8\frac{1}{4}" \times 4\frac{1}{4}"$, are suspended on a copper-ring of $3\frac{1}{4}"$ diameter; and this ring passing through the circular holes cut through the plates at the top edge in the middle is closed in a lump of copper, shaped like the bud of a lotus. This lotus bud, as the royal emblem of the line of Bhanja chiefs disclosed by this document, will be shown later on to be of some historical importance. The readers will bear in mind that the earlier Bhanjas of Kimidi and Baud attached a seal to such documents, and this seal bore a crescent and the figure of a bull (*vide* E. I., XI., page 98, and this journal June, 1916). I should also inform the readers that this lotus is also the family emblem of the present rulers of Baud.

3. Though the plates are in good preservation and the letters engraved on them seem to be clearly brought out, some words

could not be properly deciphered. This is partly due to the fact that the engraver had perhaps to engrave unfamiliar archaic letters following the custom of using an ancient script on such formal occasions. I do not think that the geographical names have undergone much change since the date of the charter, and if local investigation could be made, at least the villages mentioned in the charter could be identified. I could get none in Baud to do this work for me.

4. The charter begins with 'Om' as usual, and this compound letter is represented by the symbol which we meet with in the charters of the Trikalinga Guptas and it also ends with the letter 'Om' written in reverse order. Very likely the engraver was not familiar with the old form of the letter ॐ and as such has used ॐ for it throughout the text. Barring other inaccuracies of minor importance the whole text may be said to have been correctly engraved on the plates. The language is Samskrit throughout, and the bulk of the text is in the *Anuṣṭubha* metre. With a view to help the scholars to read aright the letters and words which I could not properly decipher, I point out here the portions which are in verse and which are in mixed prose and verse. From the very beginning (i.e., from the word *Svasti*) to the word *Kaṇḍita* with which the sixth line of the first page of the second plate almost ends, there are twelve couplets of *Anuṣṭubha* verse. Then we get almost to the end of the page some lines in poetic prose enumerating (lines 6—7, plate II, p. I) the qualities of Kanaka Bhanja. Again from the word *Madhyadesa* (*Ibid* line 10) to *cchedāh* (line 10, p. 2, plate II) the composition is in mixed prose and verse. Let me set out here separately the lines which are in verse in this mixed composition :—

Gunaih Arthapatirnāma Dvijobhūt Sādhusattamah (plate II, p. 2, lines 1, 2).

Tatputrobhūt Dhanapatir = Vidvān Sādhu Dvijāgranih (*Ibid* lines 2, 3).

After these two lines there is one line in poetic prose, and then again from the word *Vadānya* (*ibid* line 3) to *Pradattabān* in the fourth line there are two charanas in Anuṣṭubha metre. From the name of the village *Vāhulā* (line 5) to *Sāsitam* (line 6) the sentence is in prose, and it is again followed by the Anuṣṭubha lines :—

Catuh simā paricchinnam yasah punya vivṛddhaye.

Tithim punyatamām juāpya yathā śāstravidhānatah (lines 6, 7).

Then from *Pūrvvasyām* in the seventh line to *cchedāh* in the tenth line the composition is in prose. Now from *Evamasya* to the end of the third plate, inner side, the whole portion will be found composed in Anuṣṭubha metre. The two closing lines engraved on the outer side of the third plate are in prose.

5. It is to be noted that though the letters not in vogue were imitated on the plates the Oriyā forms of many letters have come out in the engraved inscription unawares. The Oriyā *visarga* sign of the present time is met with in line 7 after *prithivipati* as well as in some other succeeding lines. This charter is no doubt of a time later than that of *Rānaka Raṇabhāṇja* whose plates have been published in the last number of this journal.

6. I draw especially the attention of the readers to the last line of the last imprecatory verse (plate III, p. 1, line 11) which runs as follows :—

Pitā garddabhakastasya mātā syāt tirtha sūkari. Many slabs of stones have been found in the district of Sambalpur which bear the figure of a donkey to the right and that of a sow to the left. One such slab of a stone with these figures has been kept reclining against a tree in the yard of the Municipal Oetroi office in the town of Sambalpur. I strongly recommend that this stone slab may be placed in the Museum which will soon be established in connection with the Research Society of Bihar and Orissa. The people of the district of Sambalpur know these stones to be boundary stones; but not knowing how to interpret the symbol of donkey and pig, they take the donkey

to be the representation of a cow (though the figure of the donkey does not even distantly resemble a cow) and put this imaginary interpretation upon the symbols that if the trespasser to the land demarcated by the boundary stone, be a Hindu, he should incur the sin of slaying a cow, and if he be a Muhammadan he should be the doer of the irreligious act of slaying and eating a pig. The readers will, however, get the real interpretation from what has been explicitly stated in this document (*vide* my translation of text).

II.—DISCUSSION OF THE DATES OF THE BHAÑJA PLATES.

1. To fix even approximately the dates of the copper-plate charters of Rānaka Rānabhañja and Rājā Kanakabhañja, a mass of materials relating to several Bhañja families of Orissā will have to be carefully sifted and critically considered. Let me name only some of them at the outset. In my paper on the "Three Copper-plate Records of Sonpur" (E. I. XI., pages 93-104) all the epigraphic records of the early Bhañjas, which have hitherto been discovered and published, have been noticed and classified. The Gazetteer of the Feudatory States of Orissā by L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, Esq., C.I.E., records the accounts which the Bhañja Rājās now give of their origin. My reference to this learned work will be by the abbreviation R.G. as a convenient contraction of the abbreviated form Ramsay Gazetteer. By using the abbreviation G.T. I shall speak of the genealogical table maintained in the family of the present Ruling Chiefs of Baud which has been very graciously procured for me by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of our province. As in my reference to other records and works the established forms of citation will be used, no special mention of them seems necessary in this preliminary remark.

2. It is too well known to be repeated with any detail that the temple of Jagannath at Puri came into existence in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., and that what is called the Mādla Pāñji Chronicle commenced to be maintained from that time. This is why we meet with only fanciful accounts of the earlier

rulers in that orthodox history. Previous to the occupation of Orissā by the Mukhalinga-gangās the seaboard districts of Orissā did not form a composite organized whole and the tract as a dependency of Kalinga country was only a part of the Mudu-kalinga or Tri-kalinga empire while the hilly tracts of Odra was only an outlying province or visaya of that empire. When after the breaking up of Harsa Vardhana's empire by about the end of the seventh century A.D. the Tri-kalinga country fell into the hands of the Andhras, a dark period covering two centuries and a half ensued. We come upon some sure dates when the Cholas in their attempt to conquer some northern countries passed through Orissā and held a loose sovereignty over Orissā or Odra Visaya. We learn from the inscriptions of Rājārāja the great, alias Rājakesarivarman, Chola, that he conquered the Kalinga country (including Orissā as a matter of course, which was part and parcel of the Tri-kalinga deśa) towards the end of the tenth century A.D. His son Rājendra Chola led his conquering expedition into Bengal, established his overlordship in Orissā, and proceeded against the Somavamśi Guptas in the country of Kośala which at that time must be identified with the Sambalpur tract only, as the Bilāspur tract lay outside the range of influence of Janamejaya and Yayāti. That those Chola Rājās did not establish any permanent sway over Orissā and Kośala is admitted on all hands. We get, moreover, this hint in the epigraphic records of Janamejaya and Yayāti that they were able to crush the influence of the mighty Chola conquerors (Prasiddha dvaisi-vaṃsa-pravidalanapaṭuh) and were lords of Tri-kalinga and Kośala (*e. g.*, E. I., VIII, pages 138—43).

3. We get it next from Southern India inscriptions that in 1070 A.D. Rājendra Chola II, or Rājakesarivarman, who subsequently assumed the title Kulottanga Choladeva deposed Parakesarivarman of the regular Chola line and seized the Chola crown. This Chola king overran the whole of the Tri-kalinga country, and became at least nominally the overlord of Kalinga and Orissā. This gives us enough ground to fix the dates

of Janamejaya Mahā-Bhava Gupta I, (E. I., XI. 93) and of Yayāti Mahā-Siva Gupta (above Vol. II, page 45) between 1000 A.D. and 1050 A.D., if not a little earlier. Now it is no doubt admitted by all competent authorities that during the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Orissā was ruled over by kings of the lunar race, whose names alternate between Bhava Gupta and Siva Gupta (Puri Gazetteer, page 27), yet I have adduced some new evidence in support of the proposition, as I wanted to show the reason why a line of Keśari kings was considered to have preceded the Chologangās. All the Chola Rājās bore the title Keśari and they were invading Orissā when Janamejaya and Yayāti and their descendants were lords of Kośala and Tri-kalinga. The confusion on the part of the Mādla Pañji is thus easily explained.

4. Let us next consider the case of the Bhañjas of the epigraphic records. On a reference to my remarks on the early Bhañjas in E. I., XI., 98, it will be found that Ranabhañja, grandson of Koṭṭabhañja, dates his Bāmanghāti (a sub-division of Maurbhanja) copper-plates with a Samvat year 288. It can be said with certainty on paleographic grounds that the plates bear the script of a time which can under no circumstances be earlier than the tenth century A.D. This Samvat era cannot belong to any era of the Bhañjas, for Ranabhañja's son Rājabhañja and his other successors used only their own regnal years and did never use this unknown Samvat. Moreover, Ranabhañja mentions Birabhadra with whom the Bhañja line starts in such a manner that this Birabhadra, born of a peahen's egg, does not seem to be far removed from Koṭṭabhañja. It is true that the Chola Rājās who invariably called themselves Keśaris, did not lay a firm hold upon Orissā after their brilliant victories or victorious expeditions, but that as overlords they exerted some influence cannot be doubted. Looking to the political conditions of the time (beyond the upper limit of which the Bāmanghāti plates cannot be placed), it may be said that it was natural for some Rājās of that time to use the Chologānga era or Samvatsar. The year 288 of this era falls in 1060 A.D. As

what we may reasonably infer from paleographic evidence does not militate against the date 1066, I am inclined to assign this date to the Bāmanghāti plate of Ranabhañja I. The readers may be disposed to reject this date on the ground of its being based on a supposition, but they will see that the uppermost limit of the time of Ranabhañja I. cannot be much removed from this date.

5. It will also be found in my paper, just referred to, that the descendants of the first son of Ranabhañja I. ruled in the Maurbhañja tract while his third son, Netribhañja, became the progenitor of a new line of Bhañja rulers at Ghumsur in Gañjām. We are not in possession of any epigraphic record which may inform us as to how the descendants of Netribhañja extended their influence at Ghumsur or in the neighbouring tracts. The copper-plates of Satrubhañja (E. I., XI p. 98) and of Rānaka Ranabhañja above (June 1916) disclose the rule of the Bhañjas at Kimidi and Baud. Kimidi being quite in the neighbourhood of Ghumsur, it is highly probable that some lineal descendant of Netribhañja established another new line of rulers at Kimidi. Satrubhañja was the ruler of two Kimidis as well as of Baud, while Rānaka Ranabhañja became the local Chief of Baud, losing all touch with the Kimidi country. There is no evidence that the Somavamsi Kings who became lords of Kōśala in the Sambalpur tract and whose governors governed the Sambalpur tract in the twelfth century (E. I., XII, p. 237) could extend their influence over Baud, Daspallā and Kimidi. On the other hand, one historical event suggests that Baud was not brought under the rule of the Guptas. The Ratnapur stone inscription of Jājalla Deva mentions the fact that this Rājā of the Bilaspur-Rāyapur tract humbled the power of the Rājā of Kimidi in the Andhra country in the twelfth century A.D. He also claims to have defeated Somesvara in the neighbourhood, whom I identify with Somesvara of Sonpur, the governor of the Guptas in the twelfth century (E. I., XII, p. 237). Since we get Netribhañja at Ghumsur in the latter half of the eleventh century, the Kimidi Chief who met with

reverses must not be far removed from Netribhaṇja. I think that after the conquest of Jājalla Deva, Kimidi power was weakened, and so it was that the outlying tracts of Daspallā and Baud were severed from the parent trunk and one independent Chief of the very Bhaṇja family commenced to rule the tract now covered by Baud and Daspallā. The manner in which Rānaka Ranabhaṇja is found to have disowned the overlordship of Kimidi (though admitting fully his connection with the Kimidi Bhaṇjas) leads us to suppose that during his time Baud became an independent state. Looking to the dates of Jājalla Deva and Someśvara I am inclined to fix the date of Rānaka Ranabhaṇja towards the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. I shall show presently that some other facts tend to support this supposition. Let me here put tentatively the date 1180—1200 as the time when Rānaka Ranabhaṇja assumed the rule of the Baudadeśa.

6. We must not lose sight of this important fact that from Rājā Ranabhaṇja I. of Maurbhaṇja to Rānaka Ranabhaṇja of Baud, all the early Bhaṇjas connect themselves with the family which is said to have started by Virabhadra in the forest of Koṭa called Koṭṭāsrama. That Virabhadra came into existence by breaking open the egg of a peahen is narrated by the Kimidi Bhaṇjas in their plates when they say that they come of the Anḍaja-Vaṃsa. It will, however, be observed that Kanakabhaṇja, son of Durjjayabhaṇja and grandson of Solanabhaṇja, does not trace the origin of his family to the egg of a peahen, but states it in a vague and general way on the basis of the gotra name of the family, that the Bhaṇjas in olden days descended from Kāśyapa *muni*. Not only does he not connect himself with the Bhaṇjas of Kimidi, but states that of the numerous families of the Bhaṇjas his family at Baud is one, and it starts in the capacity of a ruling family with his grandfather Solanabhaṇja. That this Solanabhaṇja is much removed in time from Rānaka Ranabhaṇja is fairly clear. I have noted in the general remarks that the seal of the early Bhaṇjas is wanting in this charter, and in the place of the old family

emblem a new emblem of a lotus is met with. Not only the form of the lease is altered but the verses which the Kimidi Bhañjas used in their charter are altogether wanting in this record. Those who are familiar with the epigraphic records of different families will appreciate the force of my last argument. Kanakabhañja with his father and grandfather belong no doubt to a family which cannot be directly connected with that of Rājā Satrubhañja and Rānaka Ranabhañja. He flourished long after the time of Rānaka Ranabhañja; but how long after, is the question before us.

7. We meet with this important passage on the inner side of the first plate of this charter, that the Bhañja Rājās of old times who favoured the lords of Baud and others (Baudesvarādayah lines 4, 5) made a grant of historical importance evidently in favour of some Bhañjas (for otherwise a prominent mention of it in the charter cannot be accounted for), consisting of ten villages (1, 6). It is a fact that the feudatory state of Daśpallā originated with a grant of ten villages. These ten villages constituted the old or Purānā Daśpallā just on the border of Nayāgarh, not far away from Kimidi (R.G., p. 159). That the ancestors of the present ruling family of Baud had nothing to do with the creation of Daśpallā will be shown presently. The traditional account of the origin of Daśpallā, as recorded in the Feudatory States Gazetteer, is to the effect that one Śālabhañja, a brother of the then ruler of Baud, made a humble beginning towards the establishment of the state with an area of ten kośes of land 516 (now 522) years ago. This takes us back to 1394 A.D., when very likely the states of Nayāgarh and Khandapādā were not in existence. I shall refer to this date, 1394, after critically considering other materials.

8. What has been recorded in the Feudatory States Gazetteer regarding the origin of the ruling families of Maurbhañja and Keonjhar, on the basis of family tradition and the state papers, prove clearly that the present Bhañja families of Maurbhañja and Keonjhar are in no way connected with the early Bhañjas whose epigraphic records we have referred to above. The annals

of Maurbhañja and Keonjhar as well as their tradition agree equally in the account of the origin of the modern Bhañjas (R.G., p. 213 and p. 239). It is narrated that a son of the celebrated Mānsing of Jaypur in Rājputānā came to Puri and got the Zamindāri of *Hariharapur* on marrying a daughter of the then Gajapati Rājā of Puri, and that subsequently the eldest son of this adventurer became the ruler of the northern half of the state and the second son became the proprietor of the southern half which developed into the state of Keonjhar. It is also stated that Jaysing after the acquisition of Hariharapur conquered Mauradhvaja then holding the *gadi* of Bāmanghāṭi, and thus effected a territorial extension. The absurd dates recorded in the family annals may be wholly disregarded, as the temple of Jagannāth and the progenitors of the Gajapati Rājās were not in existence earlier than the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Moreover, the date of Mānsing and that of the expedition of his son Jagat Sing in Orissā are too well established to allow any confusion to arise. We all know that this event took place in 1589. The traditional account that the upper part of Keonjhar and the open eastern tract of Maurbhañja constituted a zamindāri entitled Hariharapur has now been proved to be true from the records of the Moghul times by my learned friend Professor Jadunath Sarkar. According to family tradition and the state papers, the present ruling family of Baud originated from Anangabhañja, a nephew of Bīśvambarbhañja who was a Rājā of Keonjhar. Without even examining this claim critically, we can assert with certainty that the progenitor of the present Baud Rājā who comes of the Bhañja family of Keonjhar must be placed at least three decades after 1589 at the earliest. I shall not be profitably engaged if I show here that the Baud genealogical table is a thoroughly unreliable document.

9. It is quite a fortunate thing for our history that no name appearing on the G.T. is found by chance to be identical with any name of the Bhañjas of our epigraphic records, though the G.T. has been swelled with numerous fanciful names. The fact that Anangabhañja of Keonjhar origin gave

up the title Bhaṇja and assumed the title Deva at his accession to the Baud *gadi* (R.G., p. 136) shows that he accepted according to the rules of adoption the title of the adoptive family. It may be reasonably presumed from the *gotra* name of the Baud Rājās that the heirless family in which Ananga was adopted belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra of the solar race and the Rājās of that extinct family bore the title Devavarman as the present Rājās of Baud do. We learn from the copper-plate grant of Yogeśvara Devavarman, grandson of Someśvara Devavarman, that he held both Baud and Sonpur as a feudatory of some other Rājā not explicitly mentioned in the grant (E. I., XII., 218). When I edited this record Mr. Sewell very kindly worked out the date from the materials I supplied him from the record itself, and this date is 11th January, 1562. I may mention also that the earliest possible date, according to Mr. Sewell's astronomical calculation is Sunday, 9th January, 1508. Irrespective of what has been stated about the Baud Rājās on the ground of their Keonjhar origin it may be asserted that the present line of rulers must have come into power after the Devavarmans of our epigraphic record ceased to rule in Baud, since the present Rājās have a continued rule from the beginning up to now. Referring to the fact of the existence of the Devavarmans in the sixteenth century in Baud, I am strongly inclined to suppose that the remote forebear of the present Rājās of Baud was taken in adoption in the family of Yogeśvara Devavarman who claimed to be of the solar race and of the Kāśyapa gotra.

10. In the seventh line of the text on the first plate of the Mahada plates (E. I., XII., 220) it has been mentioned that Someśvara Devavarman, the grandfather of Yogeśvara Devavarman, became the lord of Baud after extirpating enemies, and that he *snatched away the banner of the enemy which bore the emblem of Puṇḍarika or lotus* (Satru-dhvaja-puṇḍarikākarsaka). That the lotus was the emblem of Kanakabhaṇja of our present record is what we all now find. There is no doubt of the fact that Kanakabhaṇja with his grandfather Solanabhaṇja must be placed some time later than 1200 A.D. (which is the date of

Plate I. (Inner side)

Ranaka Ranabhañja) and must be given a time prior to that of Someśvara Devavarman who as the grandfather of Yogeśvara may be considered to have reigned by about 1450 if the earliest possible date, 1508, be assigned to the plate of Yogeśvara Devavarman. Whether Someśvara defeated Kanakabhañja or his son or a remote lineal descendant of his, we do not know; nor do we know what gap of time exists between Yogeśvara Devavarman and the first ruler of the present Baud family. One fact, however, must be noticed to fix the highest limit of the time of Kanakabhañja's grandfather. It has been suggested in para. 7 above that Kanakabhañja knew of the gift by some Bhañja Rājā which gave a start to the formation of the Daśpallā state; if this be considered correct, Kanakabhañja with his grandfather must be placed about fifty years after 1394 as the fact of the gift of ten villages was remembered as a celebrated event of the past time. In that case the date 1562 fixed by me with the help of Mr. Sewell for Yogeśvara Devavarman has to be accepted, and Yogeśvara's grandfather must be given the date 1500 A.D. That these dates mentioned by me are not in conflict with the known facts of local history has at least been shown. If therefore the date 1475 be assigned tentatively to the charter of Kanakabhañja the facts set forth above may all be properly harmonized.

(1) TRANSLITERATION OF THE TEXT.

N.B.—1. The × cross. sign indicates that a letter remains undeciphered. The sign + has been put in where a letter is wanting in the text. Where no intelligible construction could be made, or where the words appear to be unmeaning, the letters as they look like, have been tentatively put in, but such doubtful portions have been underlined.

2. Where I have corrected the spelling of the words, or have put in the letters which seem to have been inadvertently dropped by the engraver I have put my suggested emendations in small () brackets.

PLATE I, INNER SIDE.

Om (in symbol) || Svasti S(ś)rī Kās(ś)yapo nāma
Munir-āsīn-mahātapāh | Tad-vaṁs(ś)e BHANJA baṁs(ś)o-
yam-esmin s(ś)uddh-ānvaye purā | Ya × su × × di (bhih ?)
s(ś)resthā babhūbuh kila bhūbhujah | yair-dattam s(ś)āsanam

pañca sthānān pañc-ottarañ tathā | S(ś)atāñ pañca gajendrā-
nāñ dharmā [¹] + yas(ś)ase-rthine || Bhujena mārjita
ya(ye)sām manye BAUDE S(S)VARADAYAH *Bandhanāya*
tu bharkhoda matra × tham-as(s) aknuvan | *Dehikapyurakha-*
ndimo? bhattenokto vanig-dadau | Soḍasyaibatu *kapyarakhandyai*
karpasya pattane || S(S)RIMAN SOLANABHANJO-bhud-
vañs-esmin Prthivīpatih | Prāsāda prasarad-dhāma dhavatikṛta
maṇḍalah | Pratimārggān-nadanyartha pāñhapātheya tandulāh
[Anek-ārāma sañcchanna chāyā-cehādita bhūtalāh | Nikhāt-
āneka *sr × ta jalāvyartha* propāphalah yoga [²] + pātra
vargesu samarpya sakalam yayau.

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE.

Dik Kṛipta[³] Kīrtih santapta tapo Vārānasīñ prati/S(s)rīmān
DURJAYA BHANJO=bhūt=tatputra RANA DURJAYAH
/ Pā × nyāva rane dakso dakso dāta kathāsu × babhūva maṇḍa-
lesānā (nām) Cūḍāmanir-iv-āparah / S(ś)rīmān KANAKA
BHANJO bhūt tatputro nṛpasattamah / caṇḍadorddaṇḍa sañ-
khelat khadga maṇḍana pañḍitah / Rana vyoma (?) ripustoma
nāseca rasmi be(kha?)ñḍitah / Paripanthi nikhātika-vi-dyāyām=
atipañḍitañ [⁴] / Dorddaṇḍa caṇḍa dorddaṇḍa sarāsūveka kañḍitah
[⁵]/Masi[⁶](?) -Cayah/Sṛstyā Vis(ś)vasṛjam, Vikramena Visnum,
raudrena Rūdrām, S(ś)auryena S(ś)unāsīram, Saumyena Somam,

[¹] The very metre requires an additional letter and this letter I suggest to be 'ya.'

[²] The verse requires sixteen letters while there are only fifteen in the line and there is a little gap between 'ga' and 'pa.' I suggest the letter 'su' was dropped and the first word should be 'yogyesu' as adjective to 'Pātravarggeṇ.'

[³] Read 'Kṛpta' for 'Kṛipta'.

[⁴] Read 'Pañḍitah.'

[⁵] 'Kaṇḍitah' is altogether meaningless though the word looks exactly like that. 'Ru' of this script is almost similar to 'ka', if on that account the word be read as 'ruṇḍitah', and the common Oriya word 'runda' be supposed to have been used, the word may mean 'collected' or 'assembled together.'

[⁶] This reading I consider doubtful; the next two letters must be 'cayah' as a portion of the compound word to indicate enumeration in collective form of those qualities of Kanaka Bhanja which have been next detailed. 'Masi' is the obsolete form of 'masi,' which means 'ink' primarily, and as such in conflict with what we get in the succeeding lines.

लसलौ चमषि सुदवव क्रिद्ये मृष्टसखे वन म्नासिक कव कव
 कलमो य द्युतवै यदुत सुत। र्षके सु सुद (च) वरुः सा स विके
 नेतनाय नु वि षि दि ति षि षि ॥ यय रु य रु वि ब्रु (त्रि) या ल ना
 ससू उचवै ॥ गी य ना द स ग दा य प्र व ला म नि वा न्ह उ व ना प्र द
 य न स वा वे य स दा ल ति या सि वा ः सु द ला य ल मा दि क्के य स द ला व
 दा लै ति ॥ व रु कि व रु वी द ल स ज छि म्म ग स दि छि ग य य स्य य द नु म्
 क स्य उ स्य उ दा य नो सु द ली य स ट लो वा (रा) द र उ व रु स्य को स वि धा यो
 रु गि द्र ला य रु छि म्म द य चो रु षिा म्मो सु ल्ल (म) क व स्य (मि) व धा द म्
 दं लो ह स नु व क मा धिा ति या व द रु उ म्म द्वा व प्रो म क नू क छि म्म व रु
 क व स ल वि न ग स स्य या म्म रु गी रा तु मि थि उ म्म स आ स ता क्क ना ल म्म
 म्म धिा गि य ध न रु नू कि द स रु यि म्म ना द रु क म्म म्म मा न म्म ॥ उ क्क सू क ॥ वि

valena Marūt, vibhabena Dhanadam, Kāntyā Madanam,
Ksāntyā [?] dharām, Sthāmnā jaladhim, dhāmnā dyurmanim,
dhīa Dhisanam / sa tulayati nikhila surasamūham / Madhyades
(ś)a vinirggata Hastigrāmiya PA—

SECOND PLATE, OUTER SIDE.

RASARASAGOTRAH TRAI(TRA-)YARSEYAH provaro
gunaih [6] / ARTHAPATI nāma dvi-j=obhūt sādhusattamah
tat putro=bhut DHANAPATI bidvān sādhu dvijāgrani(nī)
HARIVAMSAH tat sutah × × rāsī [9] vadānyo dāna S(ś)ū × ×
[10] vidvān dvijava-r-ottamah / Sa samyak Brāhmanāy=āsmāi
ksadhipendrah pradattavān / Bāhulā Bendaiki Jamarāpura
Sīmhipura ubhayapāṭakau Dharmmapurā × bhi Rānakam(ka)
S(ś)āsitam / Catuh simā paricchinnam yas(ś)ah punya vivṛd-
dhaye / Tithim punyatamām jnāpya yathā S(ś)āstra vidhānatah /
Pūrvvasyām=asyasimā Māharapurh grāma bhūmin pāsāna paric-
chedah / Daksina pas(s)cim=āsyām digam Kopāsimhā Grāmam-
(ma)bhumih pāsānāh paricchinnah / uttarasyā(m)dis(ś)i
TELANADI paricchedah / Ebam=asya catuh sīmā tāmra
S(ś)āsanikih(ki) Kṛtā sajalastha—

THIRD PLATE, FIRST SIDE.

la ma × ca sarvṣ=opadravavarjītam / Madhuk=āmra vane
ṣvi(?)caī × × nuktasu / Tatsamam / × dutebhya (?) Pradātabya
vārsikasya [11] starddh=api(?) / Rāṣṭrah(ṣṭra-)s(ś)āsanikair=
naiva n=ānyat kincid=iti sthitih / ye ye bhūpā bhavisyanti

[?] It seems that between 'Ksāntyā' and 'dharā' there is a compound letter, but I think that the letter 'dha' was twice unsuccessfully attempted and then the letter was left as an erased one.

[6] This line to indicate a stop seems to be misplaced; it should have been put after 'pravaro', as 'gunaih' has to be construed with the succeeding words.

[9] Read 'rāsīt' i.e., 'āsīt' as joined in sandhi with a word of two letters not deciphered. If the undeciphered letters be 'sādhu' then the first letter is the modern Karni letter 'sa', which is really the Telegu 'sa' in form.

[10] I suggest 'Surasca.'

[11] It should be 'ta' and not 'sta'; after this the letter 'da' is required to be put in both for meaning and metre.

pālanā—ya stha(sthi)te rayam || Nyāyato harane dosa s(ś)ra-
 vanān=muni va × tah / Mabhūd=a phala s(ś)amkāva(h) para-
 datteti pārthivāh / Svadattāt phalam=ādhikeyam paradatt=
 ānūpālāne || Vahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājābhīh sagar=
 ādibhīh / yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya tadā phalam
 Svadattām paradattām vā yo hareta vasundharām / Sa viśthāyām
 kṛmir=bhūtvā pītṛbhīh saha pacyate / Gāmekām 'svarnnam=
 ekam ca bhūmer=apy=arddham=angulam / Haram=narakam
 =āpnoti yāvad=ābhūta samplavam / S(ś)ūmat |KANAKA-
 BHANJA sya varnnakā varan=ādhiṇāh / Rastrāsy=āsyā
 Trītyebde likhitam tāmra s(ś)āsanam || Imāny=aruna ×
 s(ś)astrāni pa × na × ksitim haret / Pitā garddabhakas=tasya
 | mātā syāt^{ti}_{rtha} [12] sūkarī=ti /

THIRD PLATE, OUTER SIDE.

Trayatāl=ānus(ś)āsanam(na)m=utkīrnam=iti || o || Likhitam
 Visnuti [13] nāmnā nipunen=iti || Om in reverse order ||

(2) TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT.

With remarks in [] brackets.

(Om in symbol.) There was the sage Kāśyapa who per-
 formed great austerities (l.1). From him (tad-vaiśe, l.1) descends
 this (ayaṁ) Bhanja-vaiśa (l.2); and in olden times (purā) in
 this family of pure origin (asminśuddhānvaye, l.2) many great
 (Sresthāh, l.2) kings (bhūbhujah, l.3) were born (babhūbuh) [Six
 letters between *purā* and *sresthāh* not having been deciphered
 the full translation of the whole line could not be given] (ll.2, 3).
 Ten villages forming one consolidated group (panca sthānān
 pancottarān tathā) were gifted by those kings as a *sūśana* or

[12] For want of space here the two letters 'ti' and 'rtha' were not
 engraved side by side, but one was engraved over the other. The last syllable
 'iti' is an addition merely; and as such should be read separately to maintain
 the correctness of the metre.

[13] Read Visnur=iti.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
विष्णुं विष्णुं विष्णुं विष्णुं ॥ ७ ॥

Plate III. (Outer side)

rent-free grant (l.3.) By them were also gifted [1] five hundred best elephants to the donee who asked for them (arithine) to attain religious merit (dharmamāya) and to acquire fame. The lords of Baud and other lords (Baudesvarādayah) may be said to have been cleansed or purified (mārjjitā) by the trunks of those elephants (yeśām bhuyena) (il. 4, 5). [The three lines of Anuṣṭubha verse from *Bṛndhanāya* in line 5 to *Pattane* in line 7 could not be translated as I failed to decipher all the words properly.] In this family was born SOLANABHANJA who became ruler or *Prthivipati* (l. 7). The whole *maṇḍala* or country (perhaps the headquarters town is only meant) looked white by the extension of the buildings of the ruler's palace (ll. 7, 8). The travellers having rice with them for their provision (pānthapātheya tanḍulah, l. 8).....[did perhaps obtain some facilities everywhere]. The country or town was full of or covered with (samechanna, l. 9) many pleasure gardens (ārāma, l. 9), and the earth was fully shaded (chāyāechādita, l. 9). Many tanks or channels (nikhāta, l. 9) were dug which served the purpose of PRAPA [2] for water. This king SOLANABHANJA went or retired (yayau, last word on the inner side of the first plate) to Benares (Vārānasimprati, l. 1, pl. 2, p. 1) entrusting the charge of all things to his competent ministers (yogya pātravargesa, l. 10); the fame of this king spread throughout the country (dik-klpta kirtih, pl. 2, p. 1) and he performed severe austerities (santapta tapah, *ibid* l. 1) DŪRJAYABHANJA who was invincible in war was his son (l. 2) × × . [Then follows one line of anuṣṭubha verse in which *Rāṇe dakṣa* or skilled in war occurs, but the meaning of the whole line is unintelligible]. He was the jewel of the crown (cūḍ-āmani, l. 3) or the supreme chief of all the rulers of petty principalities (Maṇḍaleśānām, l. 3). KANAKABHANJA, the great king was his (Durjjaya Bhanja's) son. He was fierce and mighty in power and was dexterous (Paṇḍitah, l. 4) in the use

[1] This line is to be construed with *yair dattam* of the previous line.

[2] The construction is not clear as *jalabyaritha* does not yield any good meaning. *Prapa* means a shed, from where water is given to the travellers. During hot-weather months temporary *jalacchatras* or *Prapas* are run up in this country

of the sword (kharga, 14) × × × × [3]. He was past master of the art of (vidyāyām) killing or subduing the enemies or *Pari-pant'his* (ll. 5, 6) × × × × (4). His qualities are as follows:—In his faculty of creation he was like the creator of the world; he was like the god Visnu in his *vīkrama* or power; in his fierceness he was like the god Rudra; in his prowess he was like the god Indra or Sunāsira; he was amiable like *soma* or the moon; in his strength he was like the god Marūt; in wealth he was like Dhanada or Kuvera; in the grace of his person he was like Madana, the god of love; in patience he was like the earth; in vigour he was like the ocean; in majestic lustre he was like the sun; in intellectual power he was like Dhisana or Bṛhaspati. Thus he could be favourably compared with the whole body of Sūras or gods (ll. 7—10). There was in the village Hasti in the Madhyadeśa (ll. 10) [6] [Then commences Plate II, Reverse side] a Brāhmana of the *Parāśarasa* gotra, and of the *Pravara* of three Rāsis [not mentioned in the text]; by his qualities (gunaih) he justified his name ARTHAPATI; and this ARTHAPATI was foremost among the honest men (ll. 1, 2). His son was DHANAPATI who was learned, honest and foremost among the good Brāhmanas; and HARIVAMSA was the son of this DHANAPATI and he was also of good character (pl. II, p. 2, ll. 1—3). This HARIVAMSA was generous (Vadānya, *ibid* l. 3) [6] × × × learned and foremost among the good Brāhmanas (ll. 3, 4). To this Brāhmana was made the gift of [the lands described later on] by the king. One Rānaka (a

[3] Excepting 'Ripustoma' no other word of the fifth line yields any meaning.

[4] The line beginning with *Dorddanda* and ending with *Kandita* or *Rundita* could not be properly translated; the meaning of the word *Dorddanda* as well as of *chanda-dorddanda* is clear; and if the word next following is *sara*, then the meaning of it will be 'Power'; but the last word is difficult to interpret as there is no such word *Kandita* or *Rundita* in the vocabulary of the Sanskrit language.

[5] As to what *Madhyadesa* signifies was discussed in connection with other plates in the previous numbers of the Journal. The very name *Hastigrama* also occurs in many other plates, from which village the Brāhmanas came to be settled in the Sambalpur tract.

[6] After the word *Vadānya* there are five letters which have not been properly deciphered. I suggest them to be *Dana surasca*.

gentleman descended from the Raj family) was in charge of the villages Vāhulā, Bendaḥi, Jamarāpura and Sinhipura and he while residing at Dharmmapura had under his control the PATAKAS (the representatives of the trade-guilds) of two villages (Ubhayapāṭakau, l. 5). The gift was made of the land with well defined boundaries on all sides, with the object of acquiring and enhancing (vivṛddhaye) fame and piety (l. 6); and this was done on an auspicious day or *tithi* according to Sastric rituals (ll. 6, 7). The gifted village is bounded on the east by the lands of the village Māharapura and there is a stone to demarcate the boundary (pāsāna Pariccheda, l. 8); on the south and the west there are lands of the village Kopāsīmhā demarcated by stones (pāsānāḥ paricchinnāḥ) and it is bounded on the north by the river Tel (ll. 9, 10). This description of the boundaries of the village is hereby engraved in this copper-plate grant (l. 10) [7]. The enjoyment of the village will be over all lands and water and will be free from all undue exactions (pl. 3, p. 1, l. 1). [In the next portion of the first line certain defined rights have been conferred in respect of profits derived from *Mauā* trees (madhuka) and mango-groves (āmraṇa); but as all the letters could not be deciphered a full translation could not be given. The inference is made from the use of the word *tatsama* and from the purport of the line next following.] The donee will have to pay the half of 'that' every year (l. 2). The rulers of the country will not be entitled to realize anything more (ll. 2, 3). Those who will be kings of the country in future should respect this grant, for it is wrong to make resumption knowing [or more properly hearing (*śrabānāt*)] what the *munis* or sages have enjoined (l. 4). [Then follows the imprecatory verses up to *śrīmat* in the ninth line which being very familiar need not be translated]. [This is declared by]⁸ one

[7] Of the word *sajjalasthala* the first three letters are the tenth line of the reverse side of the second plate.

[8] *Varna* means 'fame and glory': and *avaranaḍhina* in nominative case means 'one living under the shelter of or in the employ of the king.' The portion in [] in the translation is what should be understood from the context.

under the glorious protection of Kanaka Bhanja. In the third year of his (Kanaka Bhanja's (*rāṣṭra* era this copper-plate charter is inscribed (ll. 9, 10) [Though four letters after *sāstrāni* are not quite legible the purport is quite clear]. He who will dispossess the donee, transgressing the sacred laws, will be begotten by a donkey upon a sow which moves about the *tirthas* or *ghāṭs* for filth (ll. 10, 11). [Then we turn over to the text on the outer side of plate III]. Engraved (*utkīrnam*) is the charter (*anuśāsanaṁ*) which has three folds (*trayaṭāla*) or three plates (*l. 1*). It is written or engraved by one who is skilful in the art (*nipunena + iti*) and who is by name (*nāmnā*) Visnu (*l. 2*).

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—The Bodh Gaya Plaque.

By Vincent A. Smith, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.)

Dr. Spooner assumes (*ante* volume I, page 1) as a matter needing no proof that the temple depicted on the terracotta from the Kumrahar ruins near Bankipore, part of the site of Pataliputra, is the Bodh Gayā shrine, and that the figure is "unquestionably the oldest drawing of this building in existence." The assumption evidently is based on the facts that the plaque depicts a tall straight-lined temple, containing an exposed seated image of Buddha and surrounded by a railing and a crowd of subsidiary *stupas*. The railing and the subsidiary *stupas* are of no account, because many important monuments possessed accessories of the same kind.

But does the figure on the plaque agree with the record of the Bodh Gayā temple? The most remarkable feature of the delineation is the top member, consisting of "a complete *stupa* with fivefold *hti*." Is there any reason for supposing that the Bodh Gayā shrine was ever surmounted by such a structure?

The earliest detailed description available is that recorded by Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang), who spent altogether about ten years in Bihār, between A.D. 637 and 642. It is necessary to see what he says, as reported in the condensed version by Watters (II, 116).

"This temple," the pilgrim observes, "was made of bricks and coated with lime; it had tiers of niches with gold images; its four walls were adorned with exquisite carvings of pearl strings and genii; on the roof was a gilt copper *amalaka*; connected with the east side of the temple were three lofty halls, one

behind another; the woodwork of these halls was adorned with gold and silver carvings and studded with precious stones of various colours, and an open passage through them communicated with the inner chamber. On the left-hand side of the outside door of these halls was an image of Kuan-tzū-tsai Pūsa, and on the right, one of Tzū-shi (Maitreya) Pūsa, each made of silver and above ten feet high.

"On the site of the temple there had once stood a small chaitya (or temple) built by Asoka. The present temple had been built by a Brāhman (the legend follows):—

"...The image he had made represented the Buddha as he sat under the Bodhi tree in the act of pointing to the earth and telling Māra that the earth should bear him witness."

Similarly, Beal (*Records*, II, 118) says:—

"The whole is surrounded [*sic*, read 'surmounted'] by a gilded copper *āmalaka* fruit. In the *thirhara* (page 120) they found a beautiful figure of Buddha in a sitting position, the right foot uppermost, the left hand resting, the right hand hanging down."

These passages clearly establish three propositions, namely,—

- (1) The temple seen by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century was the immediate successor of the small shrine built by Asoka. No intermediate structure intervened.
- (2) The temple was crowned by a gilt copper *āmalaka*, not by a *stupa* with fivefold *hṭi*.
- (3) Buddha was seated cross-legged in the *bhūmi-sparsa* or "earth-touching" attitude with his right hand hanging down and the finger pointing to call the Earth to witness.

Dr. Spooner guesses that the plaque may be of Kushān age, the first or second century of the Christian era. It may or may not be; but assuming the correctness of the guess, the pilgrim's text forbids the assumption that the temple seen by him can be crowned by a complete *stupa* with fivefold *hṭi*.

So far as I can make out from the photograph, the right hand of Buddha on the plaque is raised in the attitude of blessing or giving, and is not hanging down.

Thus, in two essential points the plaque *does not suit* the Bodh Gayā temple.

Again, Dr. Spooner rashly identifies the two figures outside the cell of the temple on the plaque with the silver images seen by Hiuen Tsang.

But those images were on the right and left of the outside door of the three lofty halls, a structure distinct from the temple, and apparently connected by a passage with it, if the words "inner chamber" refer to the temple. In that respect, too, the identification fails.

The plaque was found at Pāṭaliputra, not at Bodh Gayā, and it seems to me probable that it may represent one of the great temples at Pāṭaliputra. There is no reason to deny that one of them may have been built with a straight-lined steeple. Nothing is known about the details of their architecture.

The above argument, it will be observed, is in no way dependent on the identification of the existing temple, as restored by Mr. Beglar, with the temple seen by Hiuen Tsang. My criticisms simply deal with the fact that the representation on the plaque does not agree with the description recorded by the pilgrim, whose language forbids the hypothesis that an earlier temple, crowned by a *stupa* with fivefold *hti* had ever existed.

While I do not suggest for a moment that the plaque actually represents the temple at Ti-lo-shi-ka (Tiladaka) described by the pilgrim (Beal, II, 103; Watters, II, 105), description of that structure agrees as well with the plaque as that of the Bodh Gayā temple. But in neither case is the agreement complete. Watters writes:—

"At the head of the road [or 'passage'], through the middle gate were three temples (*ching-she*) with disks on the roofs and hung with small bells; the bases were surrounded by balustrades [*i.e.*, 'railings'], and doors, windows, beams, walls, and stairs were ornamented with gilt work in relief. The middle temple

had a stone ['erect' in Beal] image of the Buddha thirty feet high; the left-hand one had an image of Tara Bodhisattva; and the right-hand one had an image of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva; these three images were all of bronze."

To sum up. I am of opinion that the temple depicted on the plaque cannot be identified with any approach to certainty. It does not agree with Hiuen Tsang's description of that building, and there is no sound reason for believing that the representation on the plaque is the "oldest drawing" of the Bodh Gayā temple.

II.—Reply to Mr. Vincent Smith's Note.

By D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.

I am indebted to the Secretary for affording me an opportunity of commenting upon the criticisms with which Mr. Vincent Smith has honoured my short notice of the Bodh-Gayā plaque. The notice in question was intended merely as an explanation of the design selected by the Society for the cover of their Journal, and was, as Mr. Smith rightly infers, written on the assumption that the temple depicted on the plaque was indeed the temple at Bodh-Gayā. The adoption of the plaque by the Society was based upon the same assumption, and as the Society is familiar with the monument and has had access to the plaque, I had looked upon their adoption of it as confirmatory of my own opinion in regard to it. If I have taken the accuracy of this identification too much for granted, or if I have expressed myself too positively on the subject, I can only express my regret for the circumstance. I must admit that there is no absolute proof that the two buildings are the same, but I may nevertheless maintain that of all the buildings known to us in Bihār to-day, the famous temple at Bodh-Gayā is far and away the most like this one which we see depicted on this plaque. If the Bodh-Gayā shrine were of an ordinary type, this would signify but little, possibly. In point of fact, it is a most unusual style, almost (I do not say quite) unique in India; and it seems to me that this fact lends the visible and obvious resemblance between the two an

added weight. It is also clear from the plaque itself that the temple it depicts was one of great importance and celebrity, in which again the agreement between the two is quite correct. An unimportant temple would not show either the extensive and costly railing round about it, nor this multitude of minor stupas, nor would there be such a column set up in front of it as this one which we see. I therefore do not agree with Mr. Vincent Smith that the rail and the little stupas should be summarily eliminated from consideration. It may be true, as he observes, that they are features common to other monuments of importance, but the fact remains that the only important Buddhist monument in the neighbourhood of Patnā where these features actually do occur, is the great temple at Bodhi-Gayā; which does not seem to me an altogether negligible factor in the case. When the type of temple is so unusual as this, and when the drawing here agrees so generally as it does with the one important monument of this period known to us in this region, it does not seem to me that the assumption under challenge is indefensible. That a residuum of doubt remains, however, may be admitted. Whether that doubt is quite so large as Mr. Smith makes out is perhaps less sure.

His objection to my identification is based upon certain discrepancies between the figure on the plaque and the description of the Bodhi-Gayā temple given by Hiuen Tsang, particularly the fact that Hiuen Tsang tells us (1) that the roof was crowned with an amalaka, (2) that the image in it had its hand in the *Bhūmiśparsa mudrā* and (3) that on the east of the temple there was a series of three subsidiary halls which do not appear upon our plaque.

Now it seems to me that despite these discrepancies my identification may still be right on either one of two quite possible hypotheses. Mr. Smith says that up to Hiuen Tsang's time (middle of the seventh century) there had been only two temples at this site, (a) the one erected by Asoka and (b) the one built by some Brāhman to replace the older one. It was the latter which the pilgrim saw, and the account of which is held to be discrepant with our plaque. What precludes the possibility

that the temple on the plaque is actually the older of the two? We should remember that it is inscribed in Kharoshthi, a script the Mauryas used, that it was recovered at Asoka's capital and that it shows a column of generally Maurayan character before the shrine, and that while certainly an early plaque no lower limit for assignment has yet been fixed. The fact that Hiuen Tsang speaks of this older building as having been a *little* chaitya can hardly be decisive against this possibility, inasmuch as he certainly had no personal knowledge of it; the actual railing which we see (of Sungan date) suggests the opposite, and on purely *a priori* grounds it is improbable that Asoka would have built either a small or an insignificant shrine at what has always been the holiest of Buddhist sites. There seems therefore a clear *possibility* that the temple on the plaque is actually Asoka's own. Such resemblance as is now discernible between it and the modern temple will in this case be explainable by "Amara" having copied the general style of the original when he rebuilt it (a very natural thing to do), whereas the minor differences will also be accounted for. This seems therefore quite a possible alternative.

A more probable one to my mind is that the plaque depicts the actual structure which the pilgrim saw, but in an older form than when the pilgrim saw it. Mr. Smith accepts tentatively my guess as to the dating of the plaque in the second century and yet, while noting that Hiuen Tsang's visit fell in the seventh century, seems to assume that throughout this lengthy period of time, the temple of the Brāhman must have remained always in its pristine form. This is by no means necessarily so. Whether my date for the plaque be exact or not, the presence of Kharoshthi on it and its occurrence in the neighbourhood of Kushan coins, makes its relegation to the Kushan period not unreasonable, and there is certainly, so far as I see now, no positive evidence to put it later. If we say tentatively third century, we are hardly likely to be erring greatly in the upward direction; it may be older, though, than first appears. But allowing Mr. Smith one added century and taking the third as

our upward limit in this case this leaves four hundred years between the pilgrim's visit and our plaque. Is it warrantable to assume, as Mr. Smith apparently does, that no alteration or development, could possibly have taken place in such an interval? I should suppose such a contention difficult. I am, as I write these lines, sitting in an ancient palace, erected even less than this full period of time ago, and the utter and pathetic ruin which has overwhelmed the major part of it brings forcibly to mind the meaning of four centuries in India. Had such a temple as our plaque depicts been erected at Bodh-Gayā in the third or any previous century (and we do not know at all when the present temple really was constructed originally), with a stupa upon its summit, and a fivefold *kti*, we may feel reasonably confident that long before Hiuen Tsang arrived, so exposed a portion of the whole as this would have fallen into disrepair and quite conceivably have been replaced, with his *amalaka*. I do not see that any serious weight attaches, then, to this discrepancy. There is surely no proof at all that the *amalaka* was part of the original design.

An even stronger consideration of the same sort makes me doubt still more the decisiveness of the further feature in Hiuen Tsang's description upon which Mr. Smith lays so much stress, namely, the three reputed halls upon the east side of the shrine. What the pilgrim tells us calls to mind the temple complex familiar to us in Orissā now, where we have the main tower or *sikhara* and its porch (the *jagamohan*) and then in some cases further halls in front of both; in all, a series of four units in some instances, just as our pilgrim states. Mr. Smith admits that the halls were distinct from the temple proper. Is not this admission dangerous for his argument? Subsidiary halls like this, especially when detached, are by no means necessarily contemporary with the monument. Indeed, I have the impression that they are even normally additions to it, and that in perhaps the majority of instances these disconnected halls are gradual accretions, added on from time to time. This is particularly true in the case of famous and important temples, where worship is performed over many centuries, and it is therefore especially conceivable for such

a temple as Bodh-Gayā in particular. Such would have been the usual development, for it was a settled custom to enlarge such shrines, just as it was to extend old stupas by enveloping them. There is thus every possibility that these additional halls were no part of the original design, that they had not been erected when our plaque was made, but had been added at some point or points in the long interval of centuries between our document and Hiuen Tsang. To this second of his four objections, therefore, I personally attach but little weight.

As for his third, I almost demur to having the occurrence of the plaque at Pāṭaliputra instead of at Bodh-Gayā itself counted as an argument against me. Such plaques are in their very nature meant to travel, if I am right in thinking them to be souvenirs of pilgrimage, and a neighbouring city like the capital is thus the most natural place in the world for such an object to be found. Was not the evidence of the Basārḥ seals, which show the name "Vāisāli" in their epigraphs, discounted by some scholars for the very reason that they had been found right at Basārḥ itself? On this analogy I should suppose myself at liberty to look upon the findspot of our plaque as favourable to my argument, if anything. It certainly has, to my mind, no evidential value on the other side.

For these reasons, therefore, I must crave permission to abide by my former judgment, and should do so quite unmoved were it not for Mr. Smith's fourth objection, regarding the posture of the hands, which strikes me as by far the most legitimate of all. The *Bhūmisparśa mudrā* is certainly what we should expect for Bodh-Gayā on the analogy of later art, and it is clear from what Mr. Smith has quoted from the pilgrim that the image there did show this *mudrā* in the seventh century. There are, however, so many possible or conceivable explanations for the difference here that I should hesitate to look upon this detail as absolutely decisive, where no other positive evidence exists. For instance, if the plaque is so early as I think, it is conceivable that the image dates from a period before these *mudrās* were fixed, for they are not absolutely determinate in our oldest work. There is

always the possibility of inaccurate or careless work on the part of the engraver, in a country where mistakes occur in the spelling of even royal names in epigraphs, and there is a remote possibility that the photograph misleads (for, being now on tour, I am as dependent on it as is Mr. Smith himself). I do not doubt the correctness of his interpretation, though, and am considering the matter on the assumption that he is right. Even so, where reasonable explanations of this one discrepancy can be found, I should deprecate treating this detail as in itself conclusive. That it raises a certain degree of doubt, I willingly admit, and therefore I say that, on the whole, I agree with Mr. Smith that the temple cannot be identified with perfect certainty. But I do not share the full measure of his doubt by any means, and still consider that in probability, the temple on the plaque is actually the temple which we know in modern form at Bodh-Gayā. If ever the inscription can be read, the matter may be settled once for all.

III.—A New Explanation of the Couvade.

By the Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Bompas, B.A., I.C.S., formerly
Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum.

Your journal affords me an opportunity of putting on record a small fact which may be of permanent interest. It is known that among the Hos of the Kolhan the father after the birth of a child is isolated and is unclean in exactly the same way as the mother is.* I once asked a Ho why this was so, he answered, "Because the life has gone out of the man;" the Bengali word "Jiban" was used.

This gives a clue to what seems to me a probable explanation of the custom of couvade which is found in so many parts of the world. For so widespread a custom we need an explanation founded on the very nature of things. When once the fact of paternity is recognized, it is not unnatural to consider the father as contributing the invisible spirit to the body which has grown in the mother's womb. If the birth of the child's body is a time of danger to the mother, the birth of the child's spirit may be equally dangerous to the paternal spirit. This is rather a different explanation from that which treats the custom as, in origin, an acknowledgment of paternity, though such an acknowledgment would actually be involved.

Once the custom originates it may in certain localities receive artificial developments in consequence of more artificial reasons being found for maintaining the custom, such as the diversion of evil influences from the mother.

The answer in this case was more illuminating than that which I received from a Ho when I asked why the race was

* It may be noticed that it is the Ho father who cuts the umbilical cord of his new-born child, and he is the only male person who may enter the lying-in-room during the eight days of ceremonial impurity (*bisi*). He has also to cook for his wife during that period.—*Editor*.

divided into Killis. He stared in amazement and asked "Chilikatêlê kipiringia?"—how should we buy brides from each other if there were no exogamous divisions? This merely showed the importance attached to the practice of exogamy.

IV.—Further Relics of the Copper Age.

In his last Presidential address, His Honour the President referred to several copper axes and other relics of the Copper Age that had been brought to light through the agency of the Society. The search has been continued and three pieces of copper of a novel type have been forwarded to the Society by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, C.I.E., I.C.S., Political Agent, Feudatory States of Orissa. They were found with six or seven similar pieces on the bank of the Gulpha river, at village Bhagrā Pir, in the Mayurbhanj State. The river washed away the bank and exposed the pieces of copper which were about a foot beneath the surface. No other remains or utensils were noticed at the place. The shape and general appearance of these pieces of copper can best be understood by reference to the illustration on the opposite page. They were apparently intended for use as battle-axes, the shaft being split at the end and the narrow neck of the axe-head firmly bound in the cleft. The large axe, (Fig. 1) which measures $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, may perhaps have been intended for ceremonial or sacrificial use. The other two measure respectively 10 inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Fig. 3) and $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7 inches (Fig. 2). The two first are about one-eighth of an inch in thickness and the third about one-twentieth of an inch. The largest and the smallest appear to have been sharpened at both ends and are both considerably oxidized. The other, which is but slightly oxidized, has an edge on the small end only. These axes were apparently made by casting or hammering out a roughly oval disk of metal, sharpening the edges and then cutting out two more or less circular holes to form the neck. Mr. C. T. Trechmann, to whom a description of the axes was sent, writes:—"The thinness of the implements seems to be extraordinary. In such apparently isolated finds it is difficult to get any details of



Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

anything which may have accompanied the objects. The Copper Age in Europe in some places, for instance, Ireland and the Swiss Lake dwellings, definitely preceded the Bronze Age, but there seems little evidence as yet to connect any of the Indian implements with European ones."

V.—The Date of Kalidasa.

By B. C. Mazumdar, M.R.A.S.

In his learned paper in this Journal (Vol. II, No. 1) relating to the date of Kālidāsa, Mahamahopadhaya Harāprasād Shāstri has advanced and supported the very theory which was brought to much prominence by Dr. Hoernle in 1909 in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Pandit Shāstri has neither referred to the paper of Dr. Hoernle, nor has he taken into consideration the discussion which followed in criticizing the views of Dr. Hoernle. In the interest of truth I get over my feelings of delicacy to state that I took part in the discussion referred to above, and my proposition as to the time of Kālidāsa was accepted by many scholars to be correct. I beg to note it that such an eminent scholar as Mr. Vincent Smith has accepted my date and has referred to my paper (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 731—739) at page 304 of the third edition of his “Early History of India.”

It is now admitted on all hands that Kālidāsa must have flourished after 420 A.D. and some time before 580 A.D. when the poet Subandhu is likely to have flourished. Now if it can be shown that Kālidāsa did not flourish during the time of Yaśodharman, my proposition, that the literary career of Kālidāsa extended from the time of Kumar Gupta I. to the early part of the reign of Purogupta, must be accepted. This is exactly what I tried to show in my paper referred to above. The political condition of India of the time of Yaśodharman, on which the arguments of Pandit Shāstri are principally based, makes it pretty clear that Kālidāsa's reference to the Indian Rājās in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* and his description of the expedition against the Huns in the fourth canto militate against the theory of Pandit Shāstri.

It will not be denied that the Huns conquered Gāndhāra by about 470 A.D., and previous to that time they were powerful in their settlements to the north and to the north-west of the Gāndhāra country. Though Pandit Shāstri has admitted it, I must point it out as a fact, of importance, that when during the last days of Bālāditya, Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula, the Huns had their settlement in India proper and the town of Sialkot was the capital of Mihirakula. Is it not then quite clear that the expedition against the Huns as described by Kālidāsa refers to the state of things as existed by about 455 A.D.? The Huns have been described by Kālidāsa as foreigners like the Persians, and Raghu's soldiers had to proceed "further north" (Kauverim disām), after having defeated the Persians, to meet the Huns in their own land (IV, 66—68). It cannot be conceived that the Huns in the time of Yaśodharman published any account of their early movements through Persian territories to India to enable Kālidāsa to give a description of their then forgotten old settlement by ignoring their presence in India itself.

Even if it be admitted that the overlordship of the Magadha Rājās, as is found acknowledged in the sixth canto of Raghuvaṃśa, was but nominal, it cannot be said that the court poet of Yaśodharman could make any mention of such overlordship since Yaśodharman never recognized it. We learn it from his Mandasor inscription that Yaśodharman, far from acknowledging the overlordship of the imperial Guptas, most openly defied their authority. On reference to the sixth canto we find that the *Raja of Ujjaini* is only third on the list while Anga-rājā, belonging very likely to the Lichhavi family, is second. Of the Samanta Rājās (Feudatories of the Magadha Rājās) no doubt the Rājā of Ujjaini is described as the leader, but all the same he is but a *star before the moon* (VI, 22). Could such description by Kālidāsa be pleasing to Yaśodharman, who declared himself superior to the imperial Guptas?

It is met with in the epigraphic as well as other records of Ceylon that a Sinhalese poet who died in the year 524 was honoured by being given the title Kālidāsa during his lifetime. Mr. Parkar's history of Ceylon which is the latest and the best work on the subject, records it that Kumāra Dhātu Sena, the then ruler of the country, died by self-immolation in the year 524 on the funeral pyre of the Sinhalese poet Kālidāsa, as the loss of his poet friend was unbearable to him. Dhātu Sena reigned from 515 to 524 A.D. I need hardly add that for a poet of Ceylon to get the title Kālidāsa some time between 515 and 524 our Kālidāsa must have flourished earlier than 500 A.D.

VI.—Reply to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's Note.

By Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

The theory of Babu Bijay Chandra Mazumdar amounts to this :—

Kālidāsā found the Huns to the north of Persia, their original home ; and he must have, therefore, lived before the Huna invasion of India in 455 A.D. But Raghu did not find the Huns to the north of Persia. He found them on the Indus, the river Sindhu. After subduing Persians and Yavanas he proceeded towards the north ; there he let loose his horses on the Indus and there he found the Hunas. So the Huna settlement was then on the banks of the Indus ; i.e., after their expulsion from Central India. The word "Tattra" there seems to be significant after the mention of Sindhu.

The Guptas governed their distant provinces by officers appointed by themselves. They had a governor at Kathiawad, who repaired the dam of the lake Sudarsana. From this it would seem that places like Avanti and Mathura, which were nearer home, were also governed by officers ; and these governors could not be placed on an equal footing in the Swayambara assembly with the Gupta emperors. It was after the expulsion of the Hunas, when the governors had assumed independent or semi-independent positions, that they could be so placed.

Mr. Mazumdar thinks that Kālidāsā was the court poet of Yaśodharma Deva. But there is no evidence for it. On the other hand, Vasula, the son of Kakka, was employed to write his panegyric and he may have been the court poet. Kālidāsā was at that time a poet of established reputation and he would not serve a newly rising military leader. The other contention of Mr. Mazumdar is equally unfounded, viz., that Yaśodharma never recognized the authority of the Guptas. Yaśodharma does not

style himself as an independent power, he does not assume the titles of Porama, Vattaraka, etc., etc. Though master of territories much beyond Gupta empire, he calls them Gupta Nāthas; thus showing his reverence for his nominal masters.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of a meeting of the Council held on Wednesday, the 28th June, 1916, at the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham's house at Bankipore.

PRESENT :

1. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S.,
in the Chair.
2. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.
3. S. Sinha, Esq., Bar-at-Law.
4. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

(1) The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

(2) Considered a list of 14 applicants for ordinary membership. *Resolved*, that they be elected. Their names are given below :—

1. Kumar Shanti Shekhareswar Ray, The Ratankar, Seaside, Puri.
2. G. C. Lathbury, Esq., Giridih, E.I.R.
3. Raja Dharanidhar Indra Deo Deb, Feudatory Chief, Bonai State, P.O. Bonaigarh (Orissa).
4. Babu Keshi Misra, B.A., Zamindar and Sub-Manager, Raj Darbhanga, P.O. Hayaghat.
5. Maulvi A. K. Abdur Razzak, B.A., Special Inspecting Officer for Muhammadan Education in the Chota Nagpur Division, Ranchi.
6. Babu Rajani Nath Ghosh, M.A., Assistant Head Master of the Patna Collegiate School, Bankipore.
7. Maulvi A. N. Muhammad Ali Hassan, M.A., Assistant Head Master of the Palamau Zilla School, Daltonganj.
8. Rai Sahib Kedar Nath Das Gupta, B.A., Head Master of the Purulia Zila School, Purulia.

9. Maulvi Manzur Rasul, Assistant Master in the Purulia Zila School, Purulia.
10. Babu Sashi Bhushan Bose, M.A., Barganda (Giridih).
11. Babu Narayan Prasad Mahanti, B.A., Assistant Inspector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Division, Ranchi.
12. Babu Dhanapati Banerji, M.A., B.L., Pleader, Puri.
13. H. R. Meredith, Esq., B.A., I.C.S., Subdivisional Officer, Beguserai.
14. J. Maclean, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., Inspector of Schools, Patna Division, Bankipore.

(3) *Resolved* that the following gentlemen be elected Honorary Members of the Society :—

1. William Crooke, Esq., B.A., I.C.S. (Retd.), Langton House, Charlton Kings' Cheltenham (England).
2. Prof. William Ridgeway, M.A., Sc.D., F.B.A., LL.D., Litt. D., Disney Professor of Archæology and Brereton, Reader in Classics in the University of Cambridge, Caius College, Cambridge, Fen Ditton, Cambridge.

(4) Read a letter dated the 12th April, 1916, from the Honorary Treasurer requesting that an allowance of Rs. 15 per month be granted to his clerk for performing the clerical duties in connexion with the accounts of the Society. *Resolved*, that the allowance be sanctioned with effect from the 1st May, 1916.

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JOURNAL

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BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. II.]

[PART IV.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

In May 1916 seven copper-plate grants were sent to me for decipherment by His Honour Sir Edward Gait, Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissā. The plates are single ones, and the lot contains five grants of the Sūlki family, one of a queen named Tribhuvana Mahādevī, and another of a local ruler named Jaya Simha. The grant of the Sūlki family contains one record of Ranastambha who is known to us from the grants of his son Kulastambha ; one, a new one of Kulastambha, who is already known to us from his Puri [¹] and Talcher [²] grants and three of a new ruler named Jayastambha. The grants of Tribhuvana Mahādevī and Kulastambha were received before the others. According to the information supplied by the present Chief of Dhenkanal, these

[¹] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895, part I, page, 123ff.

[²] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, page 156.

two plates were washed out of a field called Bhīm Nagārī Gaḍh together with 25 Muhammadan silver coins, close to the Brāhmanī river in the year 1896. According to the tradition current in Dhenkanal, this Bhīm Nagārī Gaḍh was the Daṇḍapat, i.e., capital or royal residence of Anaṅga Bhīma Deva. It is also said that Anaṅga Bhīma Deva referred to this place in a speech as the capital of the Keśari Kings. Of the remaining five plates three were being worshipped together with an image of Raghunātha (i.e., Rāma Chandra) in a temple in the village of Sanda about 18 miles north-west of the capital of the Dhenkanal State. The remaining two were found at Kanḍer Simha, a place close to Pātrapāḍa on the opposite bank of the Brāhmanī river. The place is opposite Bhīm Nagārī Gaḍh.

A.—The Grant of Ranastambha.

The inscription is incised on a single plate of copper measuring 6·9" by 5·5". There is a seal to the left of the inscription but the impression on it is no longer legible. There are thirty-three lines of writing on the plate of which nineteen lines are on the obverse and fourteen on the reverse. The characters vary from 2" to 3". The inscription has been very clumsily incised and the letters are indistinct and shapeless. The inscription records the grant of the village of Kolamponka in the Kodāloka Maṇḍala by one Ranastambha Deva, evidently a subordinate ruler, as his titles are Mahāsāmantādhipati, Samadhigatapañchamahā-sabda. Details about his genealogy are not given. The grant was issued from Kodāloka and the donee was Bhaṭṭa Sudarśana of the Gautama gotra and a student of the Vājāsaneya Sākhā. The grant was issued in the year 33 of an unspecified era. The eulogy is composed by Bhogā Kalyāna Deva and incised by Muṇḍaka, son of Dhana.

The nose of *ga* and of *ṣa* has a big triangle instead of a knob. The dental *na* has two limbs, the left-hand limb has a curve at the lower end and a vertical line in the upper end, the right-hand limb is a vertical line; they are joined by a horizontal *mātrā*. The *ya* has a big protruberant belly, i.e., the lower part

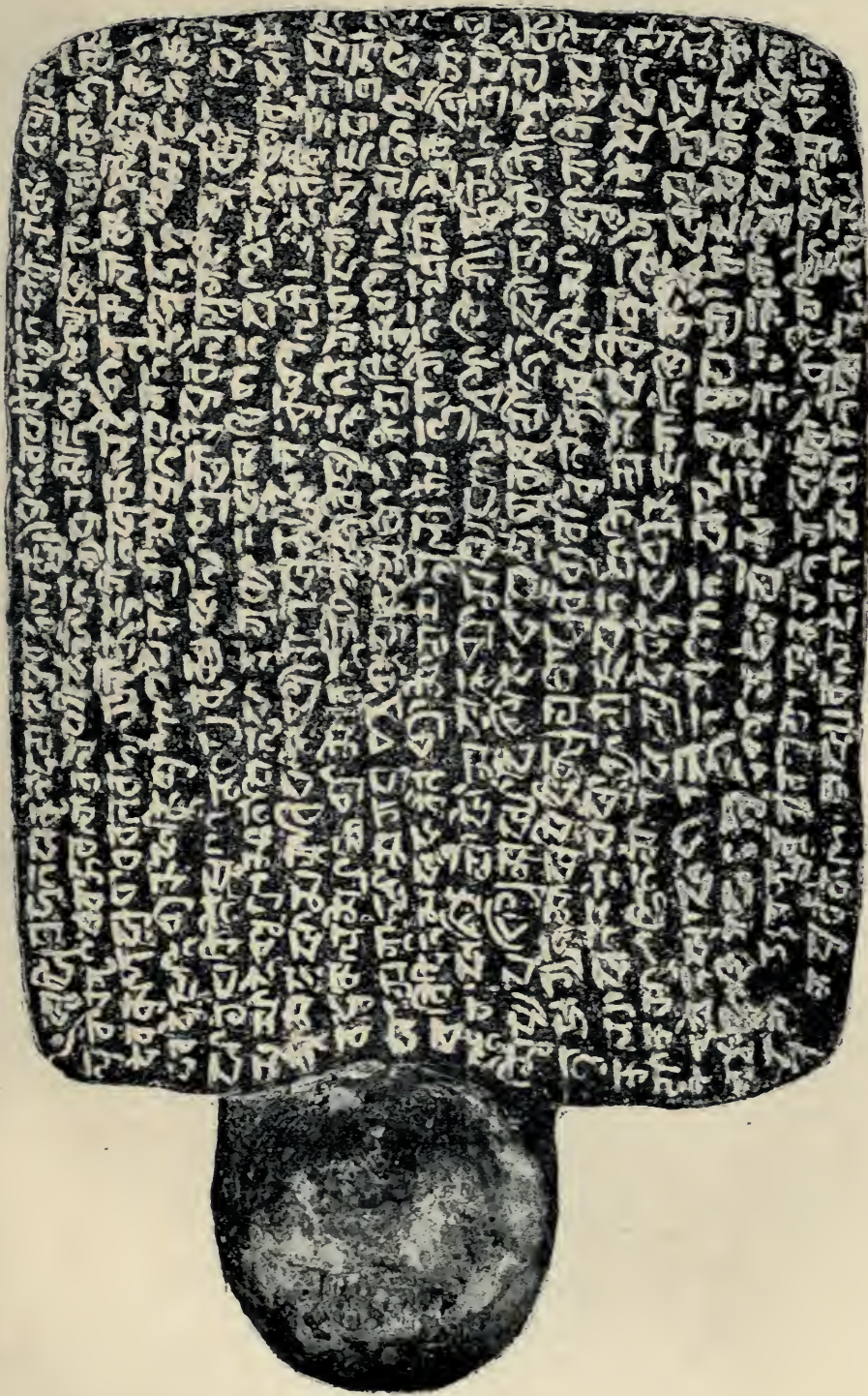
of the left hand limb is a big curve. The *ja* is like the English E. The long *u* is uniformly replaced by short *ū* in this. The palæography might be described as of the tenth century. The next four grants belong to the same century.

I edit the grant from the original plate.

- 1 अयं स्वस्ति प्रभुतसत्कृतोदयसंप्रबद्धलक्ष्मीप्रभावपरिनिष्णानातसञ्च
लोकान् श्रीम
- 2 तत्प्रवारनृपवाहुवलावलेपनिर्भत्सीतान्यपुरकीर्तिगुणानभावात् अनकाभ
विज्ज
- 3 देवकुलमुधाधवलवहुलालोकजनितसकलदिगन्तरा [ल] लोकान्
कोदालोकात्
- 4 देवद्विजातिगुरुभक्तिगुणोपपन्नश्रीमांप्रतापनत इ सत् [1] इवृतसमुद्भूतः
समेत -
- 5 भीतपरितोषणकरूपवृत्तः सत्याश्रयो रिपुवलान्दधनदीसुवहः ।
पर
- 6 ममाहेप्रवरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सम् -
- 7 सत्तमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्री रणस्तम्भदेवः कुशली ।
इहैव विषयप्रति -
- 8 वद्धकोलम्पोकग्रामे । वर्त्तमानभविष्यत्कालिन । राजनक राजपुत्र महा
- 9 सामन्तान् स्तोम [ग] नृपगांश्च पुत्र [यति] यथार्हं वो [ध] यति
कुशलयत्थादिप्रति
- 10 च विदितमस्तु भवन्तः ग्रामोयमत्यल्पक्षेत्रवानिति समीपे च भौमा -
- 11 न्नेचः भागियो भौमस्मत्तग्रामस्य फलशालिनी । भूमिः तातपादे -
- 12 स्मिन्प्य पञ्चचमस्याम् दिशि जोदापथनवलवीभूतसीमाविनिर्णयङ्क -
- 13 त्वा चाम्यक्रमास्त्रिपि दिक्षु यथापूर्वव्यवस्थितान्यकसीमास्थानानि
च परि -
- 14 करूपः । सततहोमस्वाध्यायजपतपोनियमभाविकर्मणि ।
वेदोदितक्रि
- 15 याकरणाहितमनसः नरदेवद्विजगुरुनातिथिवर्गसपर्यासमा -

- 16 हितचेतसा भगवद्गौतमगोत्रसम्भवान्वयाय वाजसेनेक । शा
 17 खाध्यायिनेभद्रसुदर्शनदेवाय । मातापित्रु रात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृ
 18 द्ध । आचन्द्रार्कव्यवस्थया अकरत्वेन सव्यवाधाविषर्जितं ताम
 शास -
 19 नपूर्व्वरेण । अस्य कुलदेवता भगवती स्तम्भेश्वरी ।
 20 भट्टारीकां साक्षिणीं कृत्वा प्रतिपादितोस्माभि र्यदेतदानमस्मा[कं]
 21 कुलजन्यतमा वा प्रतिपालयति तस्य गोत्राभिवृद्धि र्महदौर्जित्वंच भ-
 22 वति । योन्यथा कुरुते तस्य सन्ततिविच्छेदो राज्यभङ्गश्चा च अतो
 भवद्भिःर्द्धुर्म -
 23 गौरावदस्सदन्नोधाच्च [1] प्रतिपालनीयमिदं उक्तं च भगवता वेद-
 शासे -
 24 न यासेन । समानोयं धम्मं सेतु वृषानां काले काले पालनीया भव
 25 झिः । बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः । सगरादिभि यस्य यस्य यदा
 भुमिस्त -
 26 स्य तस्यतदाफल [॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद् वसुधामिह [॥] स्व-
 विष्ठाय
 27 कृमि भुत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भुमिरप्यध
 28 मंगुलं [॥] हरभ्रकमायाति यावदाभुतसंप्लवः ॥ माभूदफलश
 29 क्क [॥] वः परदत्तेति पाथिर्वाः [॥] स्वदत्तात् फलमानन्तं परदत्तानु-
 पालनम् [॥]
 30 इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्द लोलां अयमनचीन्त्य मनुष्यजिवितञ्च [॥] सकल
 31 मिदं मुदाकृतञ्च बुध्वा नहि पुरुषैः परकोत्त यो विलोप्या [॥] सम्बत्
 32 लुङ् कार्तिक वद लिखिता प्रशस्तिरिय [॥] भोगिकलपाणदेवेनेति
 धा
 33 णपत्रमुण्डकमा उत्कीर्णेति

[1] Perhaps the correct form is अस्मदन्नोधाच्च



A. Obverse.



Translation.

A

(Lines 1—9.)

From Kodāloka,—the inhabitants of which are saturated with the influence of the goddess of prosperity, who is tied down by the profusion of honours and worship proffered to her—which cast into the shade the fame of other cities by the prowess of its mighty and prosperous Kings—the sky-licking temples of which, being washed white and emitting light, illuminates all sides of horizon.—King Ranastambhadeva in the best of his health, the lord of all feudatory chiefs, the master of the five great sounds, devoted to the worship of the feet of his parents, a great worshipper of Maheśvara, the refuge of truth—who navigates the dark river of the enemy-force with ease—who is a *Kalpaprksu* to those who in great fright take refuge with him—and who is the possessor of great merit through his devotion to Gods, Brāhmanas and Gurus—who humbled down bad characters through his prowess—duly honours, reminds and orders the present and future Rāja snakas Rājaputtras, great feudatories, guilds, tribes and assemblies in the village of Kolampanka, situate in this district :

(Lines 10—20.)

Be it known to you that this village has a small area and has, in its vicinity and adjoining to it, the revenue-paying, fruitful lands of the village of Bhaumasmaka, the boundaries of which were settled by my father, as being to the west of Mvipya, and from south all round surrounded by Jodāpathana and other lands—both of them (the village Kolampanka and the adjoining lands) are given by me free of rents and all other imposts by making our Kuladevatā (family goddess) Bhagavatī Stambhesvari Bhaṭṭārikā, a witness, on a copper-plate grant, as long as the sun and the moon abide, to Bhaṭṭa Sudrśana Deva, a student of the Vājasaneyasaśkhā, a scion of the Gautama gotra, with a view to the increase of merit of father, mother and self, with a view

that Vedic sacrifices may be performed, with a view that worship may be offered to men, Gods, Brāhmanas, Gurus and guests, and also with a view that fire-offerings, recitation of the Vedas, repetition of prayers, and practice of austerities may be perpetuated.

(Lines 21--23.)

Whoever, either born in my family or in other families, maintains this gift, will have his family perpetuated in prosperity and power, but whoever acts otherwise will lose his kingdom and die issueless. Therefore from motives of religion and from respect to myself you should maintain this.

Lines 23—31 contain usual imprecatory verses.

(Line 32 to the end.)

Sumvat 33, Kārtika, baddhi,—this eulogy is written by Bhogī Kalyāṇa Deva and incised by Muṇḍaka, the son of Dhana.

B.—The Grant of Kulastambha.

This grant is incised on a single plate of copper measuring 7·1" by 5·5". A seal is attached to the top of the inscription, which is circular in shape. Its diameter is 2". The impression on the seal is divided into three parts by two horizontal lines. The upper compartment contains a crescent, the middle one the name of the King, "Śrikulastambha Deva", and the lower one a deer couchant. There are altogether forty-four lines of writing on the plate, of which twenty-two are on the obverse and twenty-two on the reverse. The average length of the letters is ·2" to ·3" and the characters do not differ much from the Talcher

grant of the same prince*. The language of the grant is corrupt Sanskrit. The record gives the following genealogy :—

Vikramāditya.

Raṇastambha.

Kulastambha.

*Vide Epi. Ind., Vol. XII,

Part 4, No. 20, page 156.

The relation of the donor to Raṇastambha is not expressly stated. The record is not dated. It records the grant of the village of Jharabāḍa in the Goyillo khaṇḍa of the Śāṅkhajōṭi-valaya Maṇḍala to Bhaṭṭa Brihaspati, the son of Bhaṭṭa Ravi and the great grandson of Bhaṭṭa Siṃha (Siṃha) who had migrated from the village Nidhati in the middle country. The donee belonged to the Kāsyapa gotra, with three Rishis who are not named, as his pravaras, and was a student of the Mādhyaṇḍina branch of the *Yajurveda*.

The name of the family Sūlki is not mentioned in this record but the goddess 'Stambhesvari' is named in L. 3, Kulastambha is styled Mahārājā in this grant and as the lord of all Gonda (Gonds, Sakalagondamahādhinātha). His only other title is Samadhigatapāñchamahāśabdā, one who has attained the five great sounds, a title very often applied to feudatory chiefs.

I edit the record from the original plate.

1 ओं जयति सुरसिद्ध दिग्धरमुकट-

2 वृष्टचरणान्नः [१]

अग्निमयिमुखभासितपिङ्गजटा-

3 भारभासुरो गिरिशः [॥]

स्तम्भेश्वरीलङ्घनप्रसादाः

शु-

4 शिक्कुले भुत् क्षितिपः क्षतारिः [१]

श्रीविक्रमादित्य इति प्र-

5 तितः

रुद्रप्रतापोदयस्तापितारिः [॥]

भास्वदिचित्ररुचिरोज्ज्वल-

(Here lines have been omitted in the grant. See Plate C.)

6 यस्योक्तसत्त्वङ्गनिपातभौता

7 समन्ततो यान्ति रणे दिन्तः [१]

यो राजचक्रतिलकः स्वगु [णा] न्सुपातैः

दिक्कामिनी मुखम-

- 8 नोद्धरकर्णपूरैः [१]
 ख [०] कोचिता ऽ हितवधूवदनारविन्दो
 दोषा
- 9 न्धकारभिदुरैः शुशुभे शशीव । [१]
 तस्मादलोत्सारित-
- 10 वैरिवातः
 पराक्रमाक्रान्तसमस्तदिक्भटः ।
 तस्यात्मजो
- 11 भुजगदेकवीरः
 औ[मान्]रणस्त्वम्भ[इति] प्रतितः [॥]
 दान प्रवृत्ता
- 12 ईकरप्रतितीर्मा
 दिग्ग्वार येन्द्रप्रतीमो भवत्सुतः [१]
 को
- 13 दालोकात् सद्वह्निजगुरुचरणाराधनासक्तचेताः
- 14 श्रीमान् दुर्बारवैरिप्रवरकरिघटाकुम्भकुटाकवाहः [१]
 दा
- 15 ता सत्यैकनिष्ठो जगति पृथुशमः पार्थिवेषु प्रतीतः
 व
- 16 ष्ट्येयाम्लानखङ्गः प्रकटभुजवलत्रासिताशेखश-
- 17 चतुः [॥]
 परममहेश्वर समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दः । सक-
- 18 ल गोन्दमाधिनाथः महाराज श्री कुलस्तम्भदेव कुशी
- 19 लीः शङ्खजोष्टिवलयपरिकरितपर्यन्तः मण्डले स्थि-
- 20 नः भाविनो राजनकराजपुत्रमहासामन्तकुमारामात्या
- 21 नतरङ्गा[न]न्यानपि यथाकालाध्यासिनो वीधयपतिनधिका
- 22 रीणप्रस सकरणकलापान् यथार्हं बोधयति कुषलय-
- REVERSE.
- 23 त्यादिसति च विदितमस्तुः भवता [०] गोयिक्को-

- 24 खण्डसम्बन्धः भूवाङ्मयस्यपरिकरितः स्तोदप्रश्न
 25 सर्व्ववाधविवर्जितो यथायथं प्राप्य च साधितः सजलस्थ-
 26 ल सपद्मारायः चतुस्त्रीमातलपरिकरीत पर्यन्तः म
 27 छ्यद्देसनिधतिर्गामविनिर्गताय कापूयपगोत्राय तट्यार्ध-
 28 प्रवराय यजुर्वेदचरणाय माच्यन्दिनशाखाध्यायिने भ-
 29 टसिद्धपौत्राय भटरविमुत्ताय परमवयिष्णु [व] भट वृ
 30 हस्पतये मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
 31 विष्णुभटारकमुद्दिश्य विधुवति संक्रान्तौः ताम्रशासनं
 32 कृत्वा प्रदत्तोस्माभिर्हम्मगौरवायादसद्पुरोधाच प-
 33 रिपालितव्यो यदस्मत्कुलदेवतास्तम्भेप्रवरिभटारि-
 34 का प्रमाणिकृत्य यदस्मत्कुलजोग्यतमोवा भवति प्रत
 35 पालयत्तस्य गोत्राद्वृद्धिः महद्दौर्ज्यं च भवदतो भ-
 36 वद्भिः स्वयसायमपि पालनीया ॥ तथा च धर्मशा
 37 स्त्र पठ्यते ।

भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [।]
 उभौ

- 38 तौ पुण्यकर्माण्यौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥

वहुभिर्वसु-

- 39 धा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

- 40 तस्य तदा फलं ॥

माभदफलशुक्लावः परदत्ते ति पार्थि ॥

- 41 वाः [।] स्वदत्तात्फलमानन्त्य परदत्तानुपालनं ॥

स्वदत्ताम्

- 42 परदत्ताम्वा यो हरंत वसुन्धरां [।]

स विष्टयां कृमिर्भुत्वा पि-

- 43 तृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥

हरते हारयते यस्तु मन्दबुद्धिस्तमो ॥

- 44 त [।] :

स वद्धोः वारुणैः पाशैः तिर्यग्योनिष्व गच्छती ॥

Translation.

B

(Lines 2—5.)

Victory to Giriśa ! whose foot-lotus is pressed by the diadems of Gods, Siddhas and Vidyādhara, and who is shining with his tawny, matted hair, illuminated by the rays of the moon, his crest jewel.

In the family of Śulki, there was a king, the destroyer of his enemies, famous as Vikramāditya, who obtained a most gracious boon from Stambhesvari, who oppressed his enemies by his increasing prowess. (Here two lines have been omitted. Lines 6—19 are common to this grant and the next with but slight and unimportant modifications.)

(Lines 19—36.)

The king in health, duly honours, intimates and orders, the present and future Rājanakas, Rājaputras, great feudatories, kumārāmātyas, antaraṅgas and others, lords of districts and holders of jurisdictions in this maṇḍala, whose boundaries include Saṅkhajotivalaya —. Be it known to you that on a copper-plate grant I give away the village Jhaḍabādā, situate in the district of Goilla, with its boundaries, with all rights, free from all imposts, properly acquired and properly managed, with land, water and forests, clearly defined in all its four boundaries, to Bhaṭṭa Brhaspati, a devout worshipper of Visnu, the son of Bhaṭṭa Ravi, and the great grandson of Bhaṭṭa Siha, a student of the Mādhyandina Sākhā of the Yajurveda, a scion of the Kaśyapa gotra with three pravara, who has come out from the village Nidhati in the middle country, with a view to the increase of merit of father, mother and self, for doing honour to Visnu Bhaṭṭāraka, on the occasion of Viśnuvasamkrānti. You should maintain this grant out of respect for religion and for myself and out of respect for our family goddess Stambheśvari Bhaṭṭarika. Whoever born in my family or in another does this, will increase his posterity and prosperity. Therefore you should maintain from motives of your own welfare.

The rest of the inscription is taken up with the usual imprecatory verses from the *Dharmaśāstras*.

C.—Grant of Jayastambha Deva.

The grant is incised on a single plate of copper measuring 10·3" by 7·2". There is no seal and the place for the seal, a circular projection to the left of the inscription, is vacant; it measures 2·7" by 2·1". The characters are 7·3" in height. The letters are very neatly incised. The language is corrupt Sanskrit. There are altogether twenty-one lines of writing on the plate, of which seventeen are on the obverse and four on the reverse. The record mentions that there was a king named Kulastambha of the Śulki family. His son was Raṇastambha, and Raṇastambha's son was Jayastambha. The genealogy is :—

Kulastambha

—
Raṇastambha

—
Jayastambha

The grant was issued from Kodāloka, which is same as Kodāla of the Talcher grant. Jayastambha is mentioned as a devout worshipper of Śiva. He is styled Maharājādhirāja, the lord of all Gondrars (Gonds), and master of the five great sounds. The inscription records the grant of the village of Chandrapura in the Koṅkula Khaṇḍa of the Goilla Visaya of the Kodaloka Maṇḍala, to a Brāhmaṇa named Vāvana, who belonged to the Sāṇḍilya gotra, whose pravaras were Asita and Devala, who was a student of Kauthuma Sākhā of the Chandoga Charaṇa, who was the son of Khambo, and the grandson of the Bhaṭṭa Putra Nirvāna, who had migrated from Kolāñca. Kolāñca is mentioned in the genealogical works of Bengal as the place from which King Adisūra obtained Brahmanas versed in the Vedas. It has not been met with in Epigraphic records before and its identification is not certain. Various theories have been put forward none of which are trustworthy. The record is not dated either in any era or regnal year. It was incised by the merchant (Vaṇika) Išvara.

I edit the inscription from the original plate.

- 1 ओं स्वस्ति २ जयति सुरसिद्धविद्याधरमकुटधृष्टचरणाज [: ।]
शशिमणिमयुखभाशितपिङ्गजटाभासुरो गिरिश : [॥]
[स्तम्भ-]
- 2 श्रिरिप्राप्तवरप्रसाद : श्रोत्कीकुलेभुत्क्षितिप [:] क्षितारि [: ।]
श्रीमान् कुलस्तम्भ इति प्रतित [:] स्फुरत् प्रतापोदयतापि-
तारि [: ॥]
भास्वद्विचित्ररुचि-
- 3 रोज्ज्वलचारशोभै [:] उच्चै सदाशिवपुरप्रगमैकमार्गे [: ।]
दे (दे) वाल्यै निर्जयशोधवलैरनेकै य [] नात्मन स्तृष्टिवसुहृमितो-
रुकोत्ति [: ॥]
त
- 4 स्यात्मजो दधुञ्जगद्योक्विर [:] श्रीमां रणस्तम्भ इति क्षितिम्भ [: ।]
यस्योक्क्षस : ? त्खड्गनिपातमिता [:] समन्ततो यान्ति रणे द्विषन्त : [॥]
यो
- 5 राजचक्रतिलक खगुणान्मुपातैर्दोकांमिनिमुखमनोहरकर्णपुरै [: ।]
सङ्कुक्षिताहितवधुवदनारवृन्दैर्दोधान्वकारभिदुरै शुश्रि
- 6 मे शशिव [॥]
तस्माद्वलोत्सारितवैरिवारिद : पराक्रमाक्रान्तसमस्तदिक् भ-
ट [: ।]
दानाप्रवृत्त्याद्रकर प्रतितीमां दिग्व [१] रनेन्द्रप्रति-
- 7 मोऽभवत्स त : [॥]
कोदाशोकात्मदेव दिजगुरुचरणाराधनासक्तचेता [:] श्रीमां
दुर्वारवरिप्रतिभवकरिघट [१] कुम्भकुट [१] क
- 8 बाहु [: ।]
विद्वद्भूमकनिष्ठो जगति जगरिपुर्विक्रमोपाज्जितौ शृ
श्रीमान्मानखड्गः प्रकटभुजवलत्रासिताशेषसत्तु : [॥]
प
- 9 रममाद्वेश्वरः समद्विगत : पञ्चमहाशङ्क : सकलगोन्द्रमाधिनाथा
महाराजाधिराज : श्रोजयस्तम्भदेव कुवली
- 10 मंडलेस्मिं भाविनो राजानकराजपुत्रः महासामन्तकुमारामात्या
तरङ्गा राजवल्लभनन्यादपि यथाकालाध्यासि
- 11 विषयपतिनधिकारिण : सकरणांसकलकलापां सामन्तप्रमुखनिजन
जनपदां यथारिद्ध बोध[य]ति कुषलयत्या

- 12 दिसति च विदिमस्तु भवतां एत [न] मंडलप्रतिवधगोईक्षाविषय
सम्बन्धकोकुलखंडे चन्द्रपुरनामग्राम : प्राग्यवथा
- 13 पितृ चतुर्दिशान्तसिमापरिकरितपर्यन्ते सपरिकर सोदैश :
सतन्त्रवायगोकुटकैवर्त्तादिजनप्रम [१] गीयं मत्सख
- 14 दशुक्ततरस्यानादिक सर्वावाधविवर्जिताक्षेखनिये प्रवेशतया
मातापितरं रात्मनश्च पुण्याप वृद्धय दत्तः कोलाश्चविनि
- 15 गतश्राडित्यगोत्र असितदेवलप्रवर : कन्दोगचरण कौधुम
शाखाध्याईन त्रैवि[दड]सामान्यभटपुत्रनिर्वाण : तस्य श्रुत खम्भो तस्य
वसुव सुत
- 16 वावनस्य ताम्रशासनिकृत्य यावच्चन्द्रार्कक्षितिस्थित : एशैषां
सदतिर्भवति प्रतिपालनिया [१] उक्त
- 17 धर्मशास्त्रे [१]
बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि सगरादिभि : [१]
यस्य यस्य यदा भुमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥]
मासु [६] फलशङ्का वः

REVERSE

- 18 परदतेति प्रार्थिव : [१]
खदता परदतम्बा यो हरति वसुधरा [१]
खविष्ठायां कृमिर्भुत्वा पितृभि : सह पच्यत [॥]
दारव्यागि क्रित
- 19 न्नश्च भुमिहर्त्ता च ते त्रय : [१]
नरकानि न निवर्त्तन्ते यावत् चन्द्र दिवाकर : [॥]
हिरण्यमेकं गौरेकं भुमिप्यद्वं मंगुलं
हरनरकम [१]
- 20 जाति यायावदाहुतसंज्ञव : [॥]
इति कमलदलाम्बु बिन्दुहोलां
श्रीयमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजिवितञ्च [१]
सकलमिदमुदा
- 21 द्धितं [च] बु (स) द्वा
नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या [: ॥]
उत्कीर्षितं वणिक ईश्वर ननि उनाच्चर मधिकाच्चरम्बा तत्सम्ब
प्रमाणमिति

Translation.

C

(Lines 1—16.)

Victory to Girisa ! whose lotus feet are pressed by the diadems of Gods, Siddhas and Vidyadharas and who is shining with his tawny, matted hair, illuminated by the rays of the moon, his crest jewel.

In the family of Sulki, there was a king, the destroyer of his enemies, the famous and prosperous Kulastambha, who obtained a most gracious boon from Stambheśvarī, who oppressed his enemies by his increasing powers.

By means of temples, white as his own fame, forming, as it were, the only road for reaching the high heaven of Śiva, looking bright, variegated, charming, shining and entertaining — he raised his reputation to heaven.

He had a son named Raṇastambha, a prosperous king and a peerless hero in the world, whose enemies fly on all sides frightened at the stroke of his brilliant sword—the frontal mark of the circle of kings shining like the moon, with the rays of his brilliant qualities—which acted like the ear-ornaments, adorning the faces of the ladies of the quarters — which contracted the lotus faces of the wives of his enemies — and which pierced through the nocturnal darkness of vice. To him was born a son—who, by his prowess, scattered his enemies like clouds—who, by his might, smote the armies of all quarters—whose hands were always wet in the act of making gifts—who rose to great fame — who was equal to the elephants of the quarters—who was learned, devoted to virtue, equal to Prithu in the world. (In this grant the reading is Jaga-Ripu, which is meaningless. The reading has been taken from B), and acquired prosperity by his prowess—whose swords never got rusty—who frightened all his enemies by the strength of his gigantic arms—whose mind was devoted to the worship of the feet of the Gods, Brahmanas and Gurus—and whose

arms crushed the heads of elephants, belonging to his invincible enemies.

From Kodāloka he, Sri Mahārājādhirāja Jayastambha Deva, a devoted worshipper of Maheśvara, master of the five great sounds, the lord of all the Gonds, in health, duly honours, intimates and orders all future Rājānakas, Rājaputtras, great feudatories, Antarāngas, King's favourites and others, such as lords of districts, holders of jurisdiction with officers, holders of badges, feudatories at the head of country folks :—

Be it known to you, that, the village named Candrapura in the division of Konkula, connected with the district of Goillā in this maṇḍala, the four boundaries of which have been fixed before, is given away, with all the boundaries, with all rights, with weavers, cowherds, fishermen and other tenants, along with fishery rights, hunting rights, rights of collecting tolls and ferry rights, free from all imposts—by committing the gift in writing on a copper-plate—as long as the sun and the moon abide—to Vāvana, the son of Khambho, the son of Bhaṭaputtra, Nirvāna, well versed in the threefold knowledge, a student of the Kauthumaśakhā of the Sāmaveda, a scion of the Śāṇḍilya Gotra, with Asita and Devala for his pravaras, who has migrated from Kolāñca———— with a view to the increase of the merits of father, mother and self. You should maintain this gift of mine.

(The lines 17—21 are taken up with imprecatory verses.)

Line 21. Incised by merchant Īśvara. If letters have been dropped or over inserted, they will bear authority.

D.—The Grant of Jayastambha.

This inscription is incised on a very small plate of copper measuring 5·5" by 3·8". A seal was attached to the upper portion of this record but at present it is in a damaged state : it measures 1" by 1·5". The upper and lower right corners of the plate have been damaged, probably by fire. There are thirty-two lines of writing on this plate, of which nineteen are on the obverse and thirteen on the reverse. The letters vary from '2" to '3" in

length. The characters have been clumsily incised and seem later than those of C plate. The grant was issued from Kodālapāṭaka which seems to be the same place as Kodāloka of other Śulki grants. The donor was Jayastambha Deva, with his son Nidayastambha.* No other genealogical detail is given. The inscription records the grant of a piece of land in the village of Llolapura in the Kodāla maṇḍala to Rishivaka son of Bhaṭṭaputra Candavochha, who had migrated from Mutāvasu on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The donee belonged to the Kāsyapa gotra and his pravara was Naidhruva. The grant is not dated.

I edit the record from the original plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति कोदालापाटकात् परममाहे[श्व]
- 2 रः आविदितभुजबलपराक्रमः प्रणीपात[सं]
- 3 हतः सकलदिग्मंडलः प्रणिपतिता(ताः)श्रे[ष]
- 4 सामन्तः राजावली सकलजगत्प्रकटि-
- 5 तजसस महाराजश्रीव्यस्तम्भदेवः श्रौ
- 6 निदयस्तम्भदेवः सुतः कुशली कोदा
- 7 लामंडले भविष्यवर्त्तमानरायकदंडक-
- 8 पाश्र्विकसामन्तसामवाजीभोगीपुस्तपा
- 9 लकादिसकरणमंडलनिवासिजनप
- 10 दौ यथार्हं मानयति बोधयति समादि
- 11 शति वक्ति चान्यत् विदितमस्तु भवतां
- 12 एतन्मंडलसमन्वः क्षोलपुरग्रामे चा
- 13 तुः सिमापर्यन्तेन मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च
- 14 पुण्याभिवृद्धेनः भटपुत्रचान्दवकुसु-
- 15 तः रिषिवकमुतावधु विनिर्गतः काष्ठ

*So that the genealogical tree will stand thus :—

Kulastambha

Ranastambha

Jayastambha

Nidayastambha

16 [प]गोत्राय नैघ्रुवप्रवर : भाण्डग्रहेण (?)

17 [ह] स्तोदकदत्तं सकलसम दायिने

18 प्रतिपादितो रुमाभि : राजा ताम्रशा

19 [स] नं [।]

बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि : [सग]

REVERSE SIDE.

20 रादिभि : ।]

[यस्य यस्य] यदा भुमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल [॥]

21 स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा योःहरति वसुधरां []

22 स्वविष्ठायां क्रमिर्भुत्वा पितृभि : सह प-

23 च्यते [॥]

मासुत फलसंका व परदत्ते

24 ति पार्थिव : [।]

स्वदानात् फलमन्यन्तं प-

25 रदतानुपालन [॥]

हिरण्यमेकं गोमे

26 कं भूमिपेकांगुलं [।]

हरं नरकम [।]

27 याति यावदादितिसंज्ञव : [॥]

भुमिं य :

28 प्रतिगृह्णाति ये च भुमि प्रयच्छति : [।]

29 उभौ तौ पुन्यकर्माण्यौ नियतौ स्व-

30 र्गामिनौ : [॥]

एवं धर्मशास्त्रेण

31 यथा कालकालन्तरे यावत : च [न्द्रा]

32 कीतारा न केचित : वधकरणियः मितौ-

Translation.

D

(Lines 1—19.)

From the city of Kodālā, Mahārāja, the prosperous Jayastambha Deva with his son Nidayastambha Deva, devoted worshipper of Maheśvara, of well known prowess and strong arms, all the quarters bowing down to him with all the feudatory chiefs, his fame spreading all over the world, in health, duly honors, intimates and orders all present and future Rāyakas, Dandapāśikas, feudatories, Sāmavājīs, landowners, record-keepers, officers and country-folks of this maṇḍala and says :—

Be it known to you that, the village of Llolapura connected with this maṇḍala, and with the four boundaries marked, is given in its entirety by me on the occasion of a solar eclipse, with water in hand, to Rsivaka, son of Landavaccha, son of Bhata, a scion of the Kāsyapa gotra, with Naidhruva for his pravara, migrating from Mutāvasu—with a view to the increase of merits of father, mother and self. A Royal copper-plate.

(Lines 20—30 are taken up with the usual imprecations).

(Lines 31—32)—None should annul the grant for all time to come, as long as the sun, moon and stars.

E.—Grant by Jayastambha Deva.

This plate measures 8·3" by 5·7". The inscription is written in a scribbling hand, much effaced and very incorrect. A seal is attached to the left of the plate in the form of a lotus with extended petals measuring 3" diameter. There is a ring inside the petals, inside the ring at the top is a crescent, below it the prominent figure is that of a bull couchant, behind which there is a stag. The central part of the seal bears the name of the King, Sri Jayastambha Deva. The letters vary from 3" to 4". In this record Jayastambha Deva's father is said to be Alānastambha, a corruption of Ranastambha, and his father is Kanadstambha *alias* Vikramāditya, who in his turn was the son of Kāñ-

canastambha.* The donee is Gobbarahuti Sarmā Citradiksita, the son of Mandabhūti Sarmā Chitradiksita belonging to Jajnāḍha Pārāsara gotra, with Gargya as his pravara. He seems to have migrated from a place named Dastipada.

The most curious part of the grant is that the village granted in it is not named, though it is said to have been inhabited by weavers, brewers and cowherds (gokūṭa), and though the khaṇḍa and maṇḍala in which it is situated are also mentioned, viz., Taba-kula and Kagavimutakmasisām respectively.

I edit the grant from the original plate.

OBVERSE

- 1 [ओं स्वस्ति
जयन्ति भुजग[१]भोग + + + परमा]^१ णवः [१]
सर्वज्ञः सर्वकृदयापि हर पादाब्जरेण [वः ॥]
- 2 स्वस्ति तृभुवन^२ विदिते शुक्लीवंशे^३ वंशसुषण्णे राजा [१]
आसोत् (॥) [Some letters lost] काञ्चन-स्तम्भः [॥]
- 3 निजसुजावच्चविनिर्जित^४ दुर्धर^५ वैरिवारणगिरीन्द्रात् [१]
जातस्ततो महानरपति^६
- 4 ओ विक्रमादित्ये^७ त्वपरनामधेयः [॥]
श्रीमत् कण्ठस्तम्भः
तस्मै [१] दसाधारण-
- 5 साहसोदयतः

*So the genealogical tree of the Sulki family runs thus:—

Kancanastambha

Kulastambha, probably miswritten Kanadastambha alias Vikramaditya.

Ranastambha, probably miswritten as Alānastambha

Jayastambha

Nidayastambha

^१ Taken from Talcher grant of Kulastambha, Epi. Ind., No. 20, Vol. XII, p. 15

^२ Text त		^४ T विवि त		^६ T महनोवयति
^३ T वशे		^५ T द ह्वर		^७ T त्व

- प्रतापभस्मीकत बैरि⁸ विग्रह [।] स्त्रिवर्ग⁹ सम्मानित साधु-
 6 [स] ममति :
 पृथिव्यां प्रथितो¹⁰ यजायत ॥ दुर्वारारिकरीन्द्रकुम्भदलनयालोल-
 7 मुक्ताफलै¹¹
 स्तू¹² लापात समुन्नत¹³ ग्रहमिव व्याप्तं नभोऽनेकशः [।]
 येनानेकप-
 8 गेन धेकतगत [:] प्रोद्धृत्य¹⁴ सम्म [।] नित [:] सम्यक्, — सपू¹⁵
 रितो [पिप्र] दद यस्य [।] चलाः सम्य-
 9 दः [॥]
 यस्य [।] शेष विनश्रं डाम्यसा, ग्रश्च [some letters lost but which
 and where it is impossible to ascertain]
 प्रांविभ्रान्ण मण्डेल जदिप[रं] चन्द्रावदातोञ्ज
 10 ले [।]
 दध्या—व पेर निर्मलगुणैर्वाचालताः माधवो मत्प[।] नि रहुना
 करोति सु
 11 तरामिन्द्रोपि यस्यैव्यया [॥]
 सकल भुपालमौलिमालालालितचरणयुगलो
 12 निर्मलकरवालकिरणतालकालोकभासुरकोदालोकाधिवासि औ
 13 स्तम्भेश्वरीलब्धवरप्रभावो महानुभावः परममाहेश्वरो औ
 अलानस्तदे [वः]
 14 सुत औ जयस्तम्भराजासमद्विग [त] पञ्च महेश्वरो परम
 भट्टा [र] क कुषली मण्डलेस्मिन्
 15 वत्तमन भविष्य [त्] मद्वासा मन्त महाराजाः राजाध्वान्तरंगकुमा-
 रामाद्यो [प]
 16 रिक विषयपति तदायुक्तकदांडपाशिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि
 राजप्रसा [दि]

8 T बैर

9 T स्त्रिवर्गत् स्त्रिवर्ग

10 T प्रतीति

11 T फल

12 T स्तू

13 T तः

14 T प्रोद्धृत्य

15 T पु

17 न [:] चाट्टभट्टवल्लभजातियान् ॥ बलहितसामन्तसामवाजिभोगी

REVERSE

18 पुस्तकपालकुट्टकालसाध्याधिकरण यथाह्ममान-

19 यति बोधयति समान्नापयति विदितमस्तु भवता ['] ॥ तद्वाकुलखण्डे
कगविमुलाकतमशिङ्गमण्ड

20 [ले] ॥ सासनीकृत सतन्तवायः ॥ गोकुट शौण्डिकादिसप्रकृतिकः ॥

21 [म] तस्यखेटघट्टनादि तत्र स्थानादिगुल्यक* सर्वप्रौढावर्जितो
तलेखनीप्रवेष्टि-

22 तथा भुमिच्छिद्रापिध[1]नन्यायेन चन्द्रार्कक्षित-समकालं ॥ माता
पित्रोरा-

23 त्वनप्रच पुण्याभीवृद्धये दक्षितपदविनिर्गत यज्ञाफपाराशरगो[त्रा]
य त्रि

24 गार्ग्यप्रवर? मन्दभुतिशर्मणः चित्रदीक्षितस्य नप्रय सेङ्गतद

25 क्षिद्रदीक्षितस्य पुत्राय गोव्वरहुतिशर्मण चित्रदीक्षिताय ग्रामोयं
प्र[1]

26 सनीकृतः चतुसीम्बापर्यन्त आचन्द्राकक्षितिः गौरवात् ॥ भवङ्गीः परी

27 पालनीयः ॥ उक्तश्च धर्मशास्त्रे [1] बहुभिर्बुधैः दत्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः यत्न

28 यस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥

मा सुदफलशङ्का वः परदत्ते ती पा

29 र्थिवाः ॥

सदत्तात्फलमानन्तं परदत्तानुपालनं ॥

सदत्ताम्यरदत्ताम्बा यो हरेत

30 वसुन्वरं ॥

स वीष्टायां कृमिर्भुत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥

बहुनात किमुक्तेन संक्षे

31 पादोदस्यते ।

* Should be खेट-घट्ट-नदीतरस्थानादि-गुल्यक;

Translation.

E

(Lines 1—6. See Talcher grant of Kulastambha, page 158.
Epi. Ind., Vol. XII.)

(Lines 7—11.)

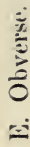
He—who, by pulverizing the heads of his enemy's elephants scattered, broadcast, pearls like so many loams of cotton, by which even the sky looked full, as it were, of planets—who riding on an elephant uprooted the King of Dhekata and then not only duly honoured him, but also restored him to his former prosperity.....

(The next verse is not possible to translate, as it is incomplete).

(Lines 11—14.)

The prosperous Parama Bhaṭṭarka Raja Jáyastambha, the son of the prosperous Alānastambha—whose pair of feet was revered by the row of the heads of all kings,—who was resplendent with the immense mass of the rays of his spotless sword,—who resided in Kodāla,—who has been granted a most gracious boon by Stambheśvari—who was a devout worshipper of Maheśvara and master of the five great sounds,—being in good health, duly honours, intimates and orders, the present and future great feudatories, mahārājas, princes, intimates, kumārāmatyas, uparikas, lords of districts, their employees, dandapāśikas, sthānā ntarikas and other dependents of the King, the chātas, bhatas and vallabhas, feudatories, śānavājis, landlords, keepers of record, commandants of forts and judicial officers:—

Be it known to you that (the village not named) in the division of Tahākula, in the maṇḍala of Kagavimulāktamasinga, with weavers, cowherds, brewers and other tenants, with fishery, hunting and ghatwali rights is given away free from all imposts by a grant on the principle of leaving holes on earth through which



no pen can pass. So long as the sun, the moon and the earth abide, with a view to the increase of the merit of mother, father and self—to Govvarahuti Śarmā Citradiksita, son of Seṅgatada Citradiksita and grandson of Mandabhuti Śarmā Citradiksita of the Yajñādha Prāsāra gotra with Gargya for his pravara. This village included in the grant, demarcated by four boundaries, you should maintain, out of regard (for me) so long as the moon, the sun and the earth abide.

F.—The Grant of Jayasinha.

The inscription is incised on a single worn plate measuring 9·3" by 5·5". There is no seal. The letters seem to be very much effaced, and there are indications of melting by fire. There are altogether nineteen lines of writing on the plate, of which nine are on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The size of the characters varies from '2" to '5". The language of the record is Sanskrit. The inscription records the grant of the village of Kāryāti in the Yamagartha maṇḍala by one Jayasimhadēva, who is simply styled as overlord of all Gondas and the master of the five great sounds. Nothing is stated about his genealogy or family. The grant was issued from Mandākinī Kulavāsaka. The donees were two in number, Mahendrī Svāmi and Skanda-svāmi of the Autathya gotra. The record is dated in the year 88 of an unspecified era. The grant is composed by Mahana Bhogī Tārā Datta and incised by the coppersmith.....(lost).

The palæography seems to be a little older. The superscript *ra* is not given at the top of the letter over the line but within the line in the form of a vertical stroke with a horizontal *mat-ra*. The nose of the *ga* is a line and not a triangle, the dental *nā* has not got two limbs, it has a loop in the middle, the *ka* in *kusalī* is very nearly a cross with a short *matrā*, this is very ancient but the *ka* in *karāṇa* is most modern, it is neither a triangle nor a circle (with a hook projecting to the right) but a figure between a triangle and a circle. The palæography of this plate may be a century or more old. I edit the grant from the original plate.

- 1 ओं स्वस्ति मन्दाकिनोकुलवासकात् प्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्द [:]
 सकलगो [न्द]
 2 माधिपति : श्रोजयासिंहदेव कुशली । यमगतै ॥ राजपुत्रान्तर
 3 झवर्त्तमानभविष्यदवहारिण : सकरणानन्यांप्रच राज प्र -
 4 सादिन : चाटभटवत्तभजातोयान्मानयति पुजयति च । विदित
 5 मस्तु भवतां एतद्विषयसम्बन्ध कार्याटिग्राम : चतुःसो -
 6 मान्त : औतथ्यसागोत्राय बडवृजचरणाय मद्द्वैन्द्रिखामि
 7 स्कन्दस्वामिभ्यां मातपित्रोरात्मन : पुण्याभिवृद्धये । ताम् -
 8 प्रष्टमयादया चन्द [१] कर्मसमकालं प्रतिपादितमस्माभि : त
 9 दा तस्य भुञ्जनस्य न केनचिद् परिपन्थिना भाव्य [।] तथाच प्रठ

REVERSE.

- 10 [ते] धर्मशास्त्रे ।

बहुभिर्विसुधा दत्ता राजेभि : सगरादिभि : ।

य-

- 11 स्य यस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल ['] ॥

मासुदफ-

- 12 लशङ्का व परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः ।

स्वदानात् फलमानन्त्य [']

- 13 परदत्तानुपालने ।

स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा [' ।]

- 14 सविष्ठायां कृमिर्भुत्वा पितृभि : सह पच्यत [॥]

इति कमल-

- 15 दलाम्बुविन्द लोला [श्रियमनुचिन्त्यम] नुष्ठयजीवितच्च [।]

- 16 सकलमिदं मुद [हृतच्च] बुद्धा नहि पु [रुधैः] परकीर्त्तयो

- 17 विलोप्या [॥]

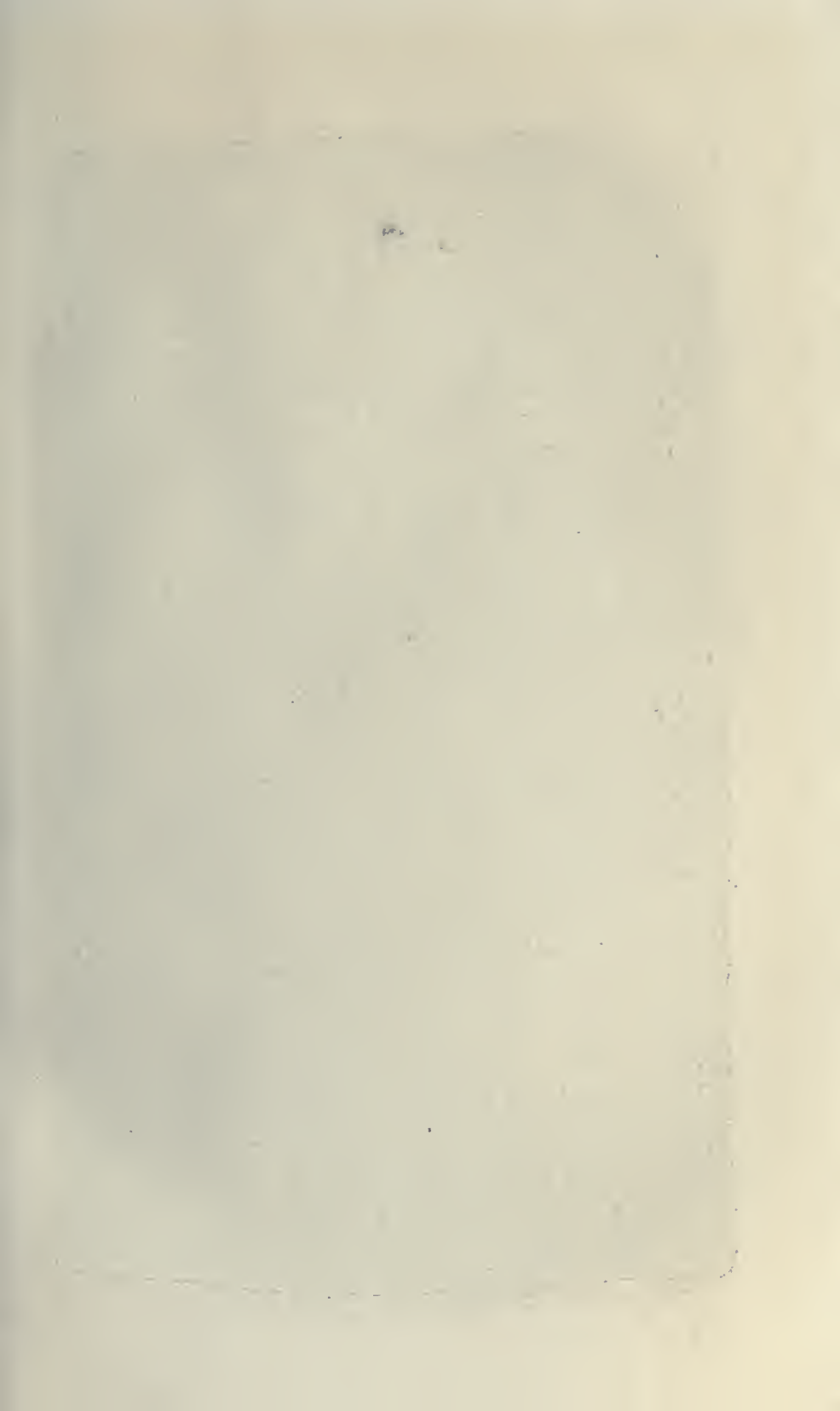
इति लिखित.....महत्तमोगि तारदत्ते

- 18 न । उत्कीर्णिं ताम्ब्रकारक ति । सम्बत् ६६ ज्ये ।

- 19 स शुदि १३



Handwritten text in Devanagari script, appearing to be a list or ledger with multiple columns. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink or dirt, making it largely illegible. The script is written in a cursive style. The text is organized into several vertical columns, suggesting a structured record. The rightmost column contains a few more legible characters, possibly a date or a reference number.



Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript fragment. The text is written on a dark, possibly leather or parchment, surface and is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The script is a form of Devanagari, with characters that are somewhat stylized and closely spaced. The text appears to be a continuous passage, though the beginning and end are irregular due to the fragmentary nature of the piece. The ink is dark, and the background is a mottled, aged color.

Translation.**F**

(Lines 1—9.)

Om Svasti.—From the family residence Mandākini, the prosperous Jayasimha Deva, in health, master of the five great sounds and the lord of all the Gonds, honour, and pays his respects to, Rājaputras, Antarangas, present and future law-officers, scribes and others, living on the bounty of the Rājā, the Chātās, Bhatas and Vallabhas.

Be it known to you that the village, Kāryāti, connected with this district, with its four boundaries, is given by me to Mahendri Svāmī and Skanda Svāmī, scions of Autathya Gotra and students of the Rigveda, with a view to the increase of the merits of mother, father and self, by means of a copperplate, to last as long as the sun and the moon. Nobody should be inimical to those enjoying this land

(Lines 10—17 are taken up with imprecatory verses.)

(Lines 17—19).—This is written by Mahattabhogi (enjoyer of service land) Tāra Datta and incised by coppersmith [the name is lost]. Samvat 99 Jyestha, Sudi.

G.—Grant of Tribhuna Mahadevi.

This inscription is given on a single copperplate measuring 15·2" by 11·7". There is a seal to the left of the inscription in the form of a lotus with two sets of petals, one set spreading out and the other rather contracted. Within the contracted set of petals there is a rim all round; in the middle is the name of Śrīmat Tribhuana Mahādevī supported below by two lines extending right to the top of the right side. Above this writing there is the form of a bull couchant; above the bull there is a wreath of flowers and below the lines there are leaves. The letters are uniform and measure 3". There are altogether forty-two lines of writing, twenty six on one side and sixteen on the other. The writer is Bhogī Nāga-deva and the Dūtaka is Nakulbhadra. The former is a revenue

officer and the latter head of the Revenue Department. The donor is Tribhuvana Mahādevī and the donee is Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara of the Bharadvāja gotra with three pravaras Angirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bharadvāja. He was a Professor of Kāṇva Sākhā of the white Yajurveda. The motive of the grant was the bringing about of rain. The name of the village granted is Kontasparā, which contained weavers, brewers and cowherds (gokūṭa), and it belonged to the district of Tosala which I have identified with Dhauli near Bhuvanesvara and the identification has been adopted by Dr. Bloch. The camp from which the grant was issued was Suvesvara pāṭaka.

The donor was the daughter of Rājā Malladeva who was an ornament of the Southern regions and who at a great crisis to the dominion of the Karas on the death of a Rājā of the family, probably his own son-in-law, upheld their power. Her husband was Lalita Bhāra Deva, who is styled Mahārājādhirāja and Paramesvara. He is compared to the moon, and his family to the water lily pond. She was at first unwilling to take up the reins of government, but she was at last prevailed upon by a very pious lady, perhaps a nun, of the name of Purāyidevi. She was a worshipper of Viṣṇu.

The time of the grant is specified in the inscription as, 𑀮𑀺𑀓𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀸𑀓 (35) of an unspecified era. In the preamble mention is made of the extinction of three older dynasties, viz., those of Unmaṭṭa, Kesari and Gāyāḍa. Of these the Kesaris are well known, they were replaced in Orissā by the Gaṅgās in the eleventh century. There are grants by Gāyāḍa of the Tuṅga family in the tenth century. The Unmaṭṭa family is not yet known, but Unmaṭṭa may be an epithet and not a proper name : but the letters 'tt' are distinct, it cannot be 'tt'.

A palæographical examination is not necessary as the grant was made after the fall of the Kesāris. The donor assumes Imperial titles but she was most probably tributary to the Gaṅgās.

To the courtesy of Babu R. D. Banerji I owe the inspection of a beautiful copperplate of this family which he is editing for the *Epigraphia Indica*. That plate is in a script which ap-

pears to be much older than any of this series. It is issued from Subhadeva pāṭaka and the kingdom is called Uttara Tosala. The three kings named are Subhaṅkara Deva, who was a Paramopāsaka, i.e., a Buddhist. His son was Sivakarana Deva, who is styled Paramatāthāgata; his son again was Subhakara Deva, who is styled Paramasaugata.

OBUERSE.

- 1 ओं स्वस्तिव्योमविचुम्बिभिः स्थिरयशोराशिप्रतिस्पर्द्धिभिः :
सौधै र्लोलललामवानरचयैः पुण्यप्रवर्षैरिव ।
वप्रे -
- 2 णापि सुधासितेन परिखालेखाग्निशेषत्विषा
चातुर्वर्ण्यमुसभृतादपि भृतपूर्वतैकवर्णश्रियः ॥
श्री शुभेश्वरपाट -
- 3 काधिवासि [त] विजयस्कन्धावारात् ॥
अल्पुन्नतेषु समुपाश्रितनन्दनेषु
शश्वद्विकाशितलसत्सुमनोगणेषु ।
- 4 कल्पद्रुमेष्विव वरीयकवाम्बिताथै -
सम्पादनैकरसिकेषु महाफलेषु ॥
पंचाननेष्विव सदा नखरोद्धतेषु
- 5 दुर्वारवैरिवरवारणदारणेषु ।
उन्मीलनैकनिरतेषु क्षतस्थितीना
सुगमद्विकेशरिगयाङ्गपुरःसरेषु ॥
शुचि
- 6 गुणपक्षपातियु राज्ञं हंसेष्वपि न मानस
व्यसनिषु प्रथितपृथुदण्डविभवेषु पदमाकरेष्वापि
न चण्डकर -

- 7 प्रियेषु प्रसाधितसूपरमण[ल]तया धर्म्मोपकारिणीक्षता
 स्वयदेशकोशेषु क्रमेण च
 निरन्तरविरचितविवि -
- 8 धमठविहारप्रासादप्रवन्धैः पुरन्दरपुरारोहण -
 सोपानवन्ध रिच मण्डितमहोमण्डलेषु खण्डलप्रभंवेषु
- 9 महाराजेषु व्यतीतेषु ॥ जातेच चिरादशोभा -
 त्रावलभिनि करकुले विगलिततेजस्वितारकामम्बरश्चि
- 10 यमिव करेयविकलान्तर[']मिव च वसन्धरा -
 मालोक्वालोक्य च निजभुजवज्रचूर्णितसकलरिपु -
 कुलाचल -
- 11 स्य दक्षिणाग्रामुखतिलकस्य श्रीराजेम -
 ह्मदेवस्य जगद्विजेयोन्मीलिता कन्दलीव सौन्दर्यकन्दस्य
- 12 सौजन्यमधुरस्य क्षितो[व]ञ्जकुसुममञ्जरीव विनयद्रुमस्य मूर्त्तिरिव
 महानुभावतायाः कुलवसतिरि -
- 13 व कलानां सकलभ्रमण्डलाधिपस्य पिशुनशुभलक्षणशतलङ्घताक्षतिः
 सुता प्रणत -
- 14 नरनाथचूडामणिमरीचिचयचर्चितपादपीठेन हठकलितशत्रुसीमान्ति-
 नीकेशपाश -
- 15 कुसुमवासितपाणिना चिन्तामणिनेव यथाभिलषितार्थप्रदानकृतार्थि-
 ह्तार्थिसार्थेन ।
- 16 सत्वनुरक्तया सरस्वत्या पवित्रितास्यपद्मापद्मेन पुरुषोत्तमेन करकुल-
 कुसुदाकरेन्दु -
- 17 ना महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरेण श्रीललितभारदेवेन गृहीतपाणिपल्लवा
 देविपुरायिदेया श्रीगोखामिन्या धर्म्मधनप्रधानया प्रजानुग्रहत-
 प्रिचरधारितैवेयं वसन्धरा तदधनापि प्रसीद

- 18 नाथव सुचिरं धारयैनां क्रियतां लोकातुग्रहः स्वीक्रियताम्वा प्रक्रमागता
करराज्यश्रीरितिसर -
- 19 भवमभिवेक्तमङ्गलंप्रतिपादगोत्सुखेन महता महासामन्तचक्रेण
निवेद्यमानः कात्यायिनोव सिं -
- 20 ड्यंसनमारूढा प्रौढानुरागावनतमाहासामन्तमौलिलालितचरण कमला
कमलाकरश्रीरिव प्र -
- 21 कृतिशुचिचरित चारुहस्तपरिवारा सुरसरणिरिवा -
- 22 विष्कृतगुरुध्वमित्रोदया मृगाडकलेखेव मृदुकरानन्दितप्रजो लक्ष्म-
रिवाचनवत्स्थितिः परमवैष्णवी मातापितृ पादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका
- 23 महाराजाधिराजापरमेश्वरीश्री त्रिभुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी ॥
तोसलायाम्वर्त्तमानभविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्ग -
- 24 कुमारामात्यौपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाष्टपाशिकस्यानान्तरिका-
- 25 नन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवज्जमजातीयान् ॥ ओलाश्रमविषयेपि
महामहत्तरवृद्धदुभो
- 26 गोपुत्रकृताजुक्तलवोद्यधकरणे यथाहंमानयति बोधयति समाज्ञाप
यतिः च विदितमस्तुः

REVERSE

- 27 भवतां एतद्विषयसम्बद्धः । कोन्तसराग्रामसोपरिकरः सोददशः ।
- 28 सतन्त्रवायगोकुठशौखिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघटनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मक
सर्वप्रोडावर्जितोईलेखनीप्रवेशतया भूमिच्छि -
- 29 द्रापिधानन्यायेन आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापितृरात्मनः सव्व-
सत्त्वानाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ॥
- 30 भारद्वाजगोत्राय । आडिगरस । वार्हस्पत्य । भारद्वाज प्रवराय । वाजसने -
- 31 यचरणाय । कण्वशाखाध्यायिने । वृष्टिकामनिमित्ताय । हस्तोदकेन
- 32 भट्टजागद्धराय अरुमाभिस्ताम्रशासनीकृ -

- 33 त्वाच्चयनोवीधर्मैणाकरत्वे(त्व) न प्रतिपादितस्तदेवाऽस्म दृष्टि-
धर्मगौरवादभवदिभः प्रतिपालनीया ॥
सम्बत् लुचुं कार्त्तिक सुदि ६
उक्तश्चधर्मशास्त्रे
बहुविवसुधादत्ताराजाभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य य
- 34 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥
मामुदभलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवः [।]
खदानात् फलमानन्त्यं पर -
- 35 दत्तानुपालने ॥
खदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा योहरेत वसुन्धरां ।
स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ।
- 36 बहुनात्र किमुक्तेन संचेपादिदमुच्यते ।
खल्पमायुप्रचला भोगा धर्मी लोकदयक्षमः ॥
इति क -
- 37 मलदलाम्बु विन्दुलोलं
श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितश्च ।
अखिलमिदं मुदादृष्टं च बुध्वा
नहि परं
- 38 यः परकोर्त्तयो विलोप्या [: ॥]
यावन्मौलौ सरारे ; सरति सुरसरिन्मालतीसगुलासा ।
- 39 यावद्दला विलोला चलति वसुमतीः मेखला वारिराशेः [।]
यावद्वा भान्ति तारा गगनमणिशिलाकुट्टि
- 40 मैकोपहारा
देव्याः श्रीसिद्ध (न्द) गौर्ण्याः प्रभवतु भुवने शासनं तावदेतत् ॥
दूतकोत्र महाचपटं ।
- 41 लाधिश्च न बलभद्रः ; लेखको महाचपटलिक भोगी नागङ्गदेवः ।
तापितं मलिनाम्बुवाह
- 42 कवीरसेनेन उत्कीर्णं नगकार हरिवर्द्धनेन । रभसवर्द्धनेन पुत्रेणेति ॥
ग्रामस्य सीमंलिख्य—The grant comes abruptly to an end here.

[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is largely illegible due to extreme blurring and low resolution.]

Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, covering the main body of the page. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines, densely packed and written in a dark ink on a light-colored background.



Translation.

G

(Lines 1—33.)

Om Svasti.

From the victorious camp, established at Subheśvara pātaka, though inhabited by the four colours (Varnas, colours, castes), shines with only one white colour on account of possessing palaces, sky-licking and emulating permanent masses of fame—monkeys, exceedingly fidgety, emulating showers of merits—whitewashed city-walls with the surrounding moats, shining like the remnant of the ocean.

When the Mahārājās, such as Unmaṭṭā, Gayāḍa, Keśvari and others—who were so high as to live in Nandana—who delighted the gods—who were like wishing trees with mighty fruits, bent upon supplying whatever a suitor wanted—who were, like lions fierce with claws, and adepts in piercing elephants, belonging to invincible enemies—who were devoted to the work of regenerating those who had lost their prestige—who were like flamingoes in being partial to pure merits or flying on white wings, but unlike them, being free from any mental addictions or not being anxious for the lake of Mānasa—who were like lotus tanks, in being rich in their armies or in being full of splendid lotus stalks, but unlike them, not being fond of oppressive taxation or fond of the fierce rays of the sun—who having brought, under control, the empires of others and his own, exhausted their entire treasures in furtherance of religion—who have adorned the face of the earth with various monasteries, viharas and palaces, as if with a desire to build a staircase for ascending the city of Indra—and who were as powerful as Indra—had passed off and when the Kara family were known only to fame—Tribhuvana Mahādevī, Mahārājā-dhirāja Paramesvarī, Parama Bhaṭṭārikā, meditating on the feet of her parents, a devoted worshipper of Visnu, the daughter of the prosperous Rāja Mulla Deva, the frontal mark of the southern quarter,—who finding the earth with all her Kara kings dead

and gone, like the sky bereft of all shining stars, destroyed all the mountain-like enemies with his thunder-like hands—the wife of Mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara, Lalitabhāradeva, the best of men, the moon of the Kumuda tank of Kara kula—whose lips were sanctified by the goddess of speech, devoted to truth, who, was like a touchstone in fulfilling the desires of suitors by granting whatever they wanted, whose hands were perfumed by the flowers in the locks of the wives of his enemies, whom he dragged by their hair and whose footstool was variegated with the rays of the diamonds in the diadems of the subjugated kings—who was like the shoot of the root of beauty issuing for the conquest of the world—who was like the earth, the receptacle of the honey of courtesy—who was like the blossom of the tree of good manners—who was magnanimity incarnate—who was like the family residence of fine arts—whose person was adorned with hundreds of auspicious signs of a lord of the world—who was entreated by Gosvāminī-Purāyī Devī, having religion for her prime object and by a large circle of feudatory chiefs, all anxious for her coronation, saying ‘this world is held by all rulers simply for favouring the subjects. So be pleased to do so now. Like a lord, rule the kingdom. Do favour to our men. Accept the kingdom of the Karas which has come down to you by the right of succession’—who, like Katyāyanī, ascended the lion-throne—who was like the presiding deity of the beautiful lotus tank—the lotus-like feet of whom was softly touched by the diadems of the great feudatories, bowing down in devoted loyalty—who had all her attendants, naturally of pure character and clean hands—who was like a thoroughfare in heaven with Guna (Jupiter, preceptor), Dhruva (Polestar, truth), Mitra (Sun, friend), shining with all splendour—who was like a digit of the moon which delights men with soft rays or light laxation—and who was like the goddess of prosperity whose stability depends upon the stability of progress—duly honours, intimates and orders all present and future great feudatories, Mahārājās, Rājaputtras, Antarangas, Kumārāmūtyās, Uparikas, lords of districts, their

employees, Dandapāsikas, Shānāntarikas, and others, depending upon royal bounties, such as Chātas, Bhatas and Vallabhas in Tosalā, also the great nobles, great landlords, keepers of records and all others from Kuṭakola, down to Karanas or clerks :—

Be it known to you, that the village Koṇṭasparā, connected with this district, with boundaries and rights, with weavers, cowherds, brewers and other tenants, with hunting and ghat-wali rights, with tolls, ferries and so on, free from all imposts, on the principle of “leaving holes on earth” through which no pen can pass, as long as the sun, moon and earth abide, with a view to the increase of merits of mother, father and self and all creatures—is given away to Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara, a student of Kanva Śākhā of the white Yajurveda, a scion of the Bharadvāja Gotra with Angiras, Vārhaspatya and Bharadvāja as his pravaras for bringing down rain, with water in my hand and by means of a copperplate, and according to the principle of Nivi Dharma.

This gift of mine should be maintained by you out of respect for me—Samvat ? (35), Kārtika, Sudi 6.

Lines 33—40 are taken up with imprecations.

(Lines 40—42.)

The Dūtaka of this grant is Mahāksapaṭalika Balabhadra. The writer is Mahāksapaṭalika landlord Nagaḍadeva. It was heated by Kaviradeva, who is styled Malināmbuvāha, the carrier of dirty water. It was incised by Harivardhana and by his son Rabhasavardhana. Boundaries of the village.....
(Here the grant comes abruptly to an end.)

II.—Kumurukela Charter of Ranaka Satru Bhanja Deva.

(Circa 1325 A. D.)

By B. C. Mazumdar, B.L., M.R.A.S.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THIS copper-plate charter, consisting of three well incised plates, is in nice preservation. It was unearthed in April 1916 in the very village Kumurukelā which is the subject-matter of the grant. The other village Jaintāmūrā, which was gifted along with Kumurukelā, could not be identified either in the Uttara-Tir Parganā (Uttara palli of this record) of Sonpur or anywhere in the state of Sonpur. Such a village name as Jaint or Mūrā is a familiar village name in the Sambalpur tract, but actually we do not get a village called Jaint except in Sambalpur, and that village is about fifty miles off from Kumurukelā.

2. This charter of a later Kimiḍi-Bhañja of Baud was given to me by Mahārājā B. M. Sing Deo on the first of July 1916, and I took it up to edit, forgetting as it were that I am blind now. I made my amanuensis to draw the inscribed letters on the palm of my hand to enable me to decipher the text; it affords me very great delight that following this curious process I have been able to decipher the record successfully and can confidently publish an account of it. I offered this tentative suggestion in editing another Bhañja record (this journal of June 1916, page 168) that the lines beginning with Saṁbhāra Kāla were a débris of some verses composed in the Vasanta tilakā metre, and that in the event of a discovery of a better plate the text might be reconstructed. This suggestion of mine is now proved to be wholly correct, as in this record the lines beginning with Saṁbhāra Kāla (plate I, l. 2) and ending with nrpaśya (ibid, l. 8) are found correctly inscribed in the Vasanta tilakā metre. I must

note, however, that the subsequent portion of the text is full of spelling mistakes and grammatical errors.

3. The seal, in the lower part of which the ends of the ring (on which the plates are suspended) are closed, contains the legend *Srī Satru Bhañja Devasya* in two lines, and over the name of the *Rājā* there is a half-moon which is a *Saiva* symbol. In the seals of the earlier *Bhañja Rājās* we meet with the figure of the bull *Nandin*, and in the text the phrase *Paramamāheśvara* occurs as an appellation of the *Rājās*. As both these elements are wanting in this charter, and as the grantor calls himself a *Rāṇaka* (pl. II, p. 2, l. 3) and not a *Raja* proper we may safely infer that this *Śatrubhañja* was a feudatory of the *Kimidi Bhañjas*, and was a later descendant of *Raṇa Bhañja* whose charter was published in the June number of this journal in 1916. As such I am inclined to place this *Śatrubhañja* some time between 1300 and 1350. It may, moreover, be noticed that this *Raja* who comes after the aforesaid *Raṇa Bhañja* is the son of *Aṅgati* who also was a *Rājā* of *Baud* (pl. I, ll. 7 and 8). It has been distinctly mentioned that the territory governed by him fell within the *Khiñjani maṇḍala* (pl. II, p. 1, l. 6). That *Khiñjani* and *Khiṇḍini* are variants of the name *Khimidi* or *Kimidi* has been noted under the text. That the grantor became a thoroughgoing *Vaiṣṇava* is evident from the fact that the charter begins with an *Aryā* verse composed in the name of *Viṣṇu*. The verses in the name of *Śiva* which follow were inserted as it was customary in the family to inscribe those verses in all their charters.

4. The grant of the villages *Kumurukelā* and *Jaintāmurā* situate in the *Uttarapallī visaya*, was made on the day next following the *Ekādaśī tithi* of the month *Kārtika* which is specially sacred because of *Viṣṇu*'s turning over his side preparatory to his waking up. This day was considered to be the day of autumn equinox. The date *Kārtika Sukladvādaśī* has been twice mentioned in the text, and it has been stated that the gift was made after worshipping the God *Viṣṇu*; *Viṣṇu Bhaṭ-tārakamuddiśya* is the actual phrase which occurs in the text

(pl. II, p. 1, ll. 10, 11). Neither the tithi nor the regnal year fifteen (pl. III, p. 1, l. 11) gives any clue to the date. The writer in charge was Savaradatta (called Sāndhi Vīgrahika) and the engraver was Devala of the goldsmith (Suvāṇatkāra) caste (pl. III, outer side l. 1).

5. The Brāhman grantee was Bhaṭa Manoratha, son of Bhaṭa Nārāyaṇa, who migrated from a village called Baṅgakuṭi and was a resident at the time of the grant of the villages at Gandhaṭapāṭi; neither of these villages can now be identified, for they must have been situate somewhere outside the state. This Brāhman belonged, I suppose, to the Kāśyapa gotra and was a student of the Rgveda Charaṇa; as to his Pravaras my remarks under the text may be referred to (see notes 14 and 15 to lines 1 and 2, pl. II, p. 2).

6. The plates measure $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$, and the weight of the whole record with the ring and the seal is three seers and three chattaks corresponding to six pounds and six ounces.

The second compound letter of the name of the grantor Rājā has to be specially observed. The name occurs thrice in this record, first on the seal, secondly, in the fifth line of the second plate, first side, and thirdly, or finally, in the third line on the reverse side of the second plate. In all these cases the second compound letter of the name is identical with a Bengali letter in form; Bengali 'tra' looks like the Bengali vowel 'e', and when 'tru' is written, a curved stroke is added to the right in the middle, but this curved stroke faces downwards when the letter is the compound letter 'kra'. It will be observed that the stroke I speak of, comes downwards in this record in all the three places mentioned above. I am perfectly aware that when the stroke comes downwards more as a perpendicular line than as a curve, long 'ū' is indicated. Considering the fact that Śātrū Bhañja is a pet name in the family of the early Bhañjas, I have given the name to be Śātrū Bhañja accepting the long 'ū' as a bad spelling; but it is not unlikely that the name may be Śakra Bhañja and not Śātrū Bhañja. The word Śakra is a name of the god Indra who wields a 'vajra' in his hand. In the first line of

the second plate, first side, we read the sentence khyātah khaḍga-bhrājisṇu bhuja *vajra* Bhañja bhūpatih ; and here in the mention of the word ' vajra ' a pun on the name of the Rājā may be suspected, if only we can accept the name to be Śakra Bhānja and not Śatru Bhañja. My present condition of life is in my way, and I therefore leave it to the expert epigraphists to decide whether the letter I specially note is ' tru ' or ' kra '.

TEXT.

1. The initial letters of the lines in verse, the names of gods and the important proper names are given in Capital letters.

2. Letters inadvertently dropped by the engraver are in small brackets (), while suggested emendations are given either in square brackets [] or in the footnotes. General incorrectness of the text has been allowed to stand ; only a few corrections have been suggested for evident reasons.

3. The text being rather familiar now, only a few explanatory notes on some important points have been given under the text.

FIRST PLATE (INNER SIDE).

1. Om Siddhih | Anavarata⁽¹⁾-vahala-pu akam-ll AKSMĪ-kuca-pīḍanena duritam-vah Apaha-

2. ratu surabhi-parimala-susaṭpadam-ura[h]sthalaṁ VIS-NUH || Saṁhāra ⁽²⁾ kāla hutabhug-vi-

3. karāla ghora Saṁbhrānta kinikara kṛtānta nitānta bhinnam Bhinn-Āndhakāśura ⁽³⁾ mahāgaha-

4. n=ātaputraṁ Tad=bhairavam HARA-vapu (:) r=bhavatāḥ prapātu (:) | Durvāra-vāraṇa-ṛaṇa-Pratipaksa-pa-

5. Kśah ⁽⁴⁾ [kśā] LLAKSMĪ haṭhāpaharaṇocchalita pratāpāḥ | BHANJĀ narādhipatayo bahavo babhubur=ū-

(1) The portion from Anavarata to Viṣṇu in line 2 is in Aryā meter.

(2) From Saṁhāra to Nṛpaśya in the 8th line, the text is in Vasant-tailakā meter.

(3) The Asura or demon Andhaka whom Siva slew.

(4) Pakṣāt + Lakṣmī ; this second word pakṣa means an elephant,—i.e. Lakṣmī or Glory was snatched away from the royal elephant of the enemy king.

ॐ सिद्धिः । अगवगवदलयलकल्लुक्के कुवयीरनेमदु (निमूः अयद
 गतुभनदिप रिमलस्यषदुदमासुलं वि'भूः ॥ मंद'गक'लदुतदु (मि
 के गल्लुदो गमदु न कि कन कृता न (निनाम (कुनें विनात क'मगमद'यद
 गानयनं नंदु रवंदु बयुः कुवतः युयादुः । दृष्ट्वा रवा गल्लु पयु (नियकु प
 काः ल्लुक्के कळयदु रल्लुक्के तिनयुनायाः रुद्रमवा (वयतयौ वदु वदु वदु
 दूनयौ नुं सुविदु रे अदुसु सल्लुगाने या कलेसक लदुतल्लुया लं भो लिमोर्भ
 विनां दि य ग लो वल रां ग यो दू ॥ श्री आदु दि यु क द' पौरु स' इति व क' रि द'
 रिता (निदि द' यो आ (यि ना ग य स्य' नाना माना य मानु आ/ गुल य द' य वा कि
 रुद द' य द' य म' म' गि द' (निना (निन ग' द' य द' ल्लुक्के स' म' द' य
 रु ० द' य (वि क द' य द' य रु स' क' य यु ना या (नि रुद्रु लने क' स रु स' सल्लु वि स्यौ

[illegible]

Disc 11 of 11

6. dbhūṭayo-tra ⁽¹⁾ bhuviḥbhūri sahasra saṁkhyāḥ | Teṣāṁ kule sakala bhūṭala pāla mauli-Mālā-

7. recitā=ṅhri-yugalo balabāṁ nṛpo=bhūt Śrī ANGATI [H] ⁽²⁾ prakāṣa pauraśa rasmi cakra-Nirddā

8. rit īri-hri [hṛ] dayosya pitā nṛpasya Nānāmānāpamānānyonya lagna-gaja-vāji

9. bhāṣa-ghāṣa ghasraṁ ghāṣa ghora samaranirdāritāri narendra vṛnda Lakṣmī samūhah.

10. haṭha haraṇa vikāṣa pāṣa purusakāra pratāpātikrānte ⁽³⁾ neka sahasra saṁkhyā vikhyā-

SECOND PLATE (FIRST SIDE).

1. to (:): khyātaḥ khadga bhrajaṣṇu bhuja vajra BHANJA BHUPATIḥ purāvṛti purāt śarad-a-

2. mala-vahala-jaladhara-dhavalayaśaḥ-pāṭalakamala mālā=laṁkṛtaḥ sakala di—

3. g=vadhu=vadano (:): ⁽⁴⁾ anavarata pravarttamāna nānā sanmāna dānānandita ni [h] sesa h ⁽⁵⁾ svajana-

4. dinadah sitānāpa ⁽⁶⁾ janamanovaddah prabhav=āṇḍ a jah ⁽⁷⁾ PARAMA-VAISNAVO mātā—

5. piṭṛ pādānudhyataḥ Bhanjāmalakulatilakah ŚRĪ ŚAT-RUBHANJA DEVA kusali.

6. KHINJANI ⁽⁸⁾ maṇḍale bhaviśyaḍ=rāja rājanānta-raṅga kumāra mānya mahā sānta ⁽⁹⁾ brahma-

(1) The plural form of udbhūtiḥ-descendant × atra.

(2) The name is the name of the father of the grantor. My reading Angati if correct, the meaning of the word is Brahmā. No other word could be suggested for this proper name, as the initial A is clear and the final ti is fairly legible.

(3) Here stands one erased letter.

(4) This sign similar to a visarjanīa seems to be a sign for a stop. Where the sign appears to me as such, I have transcribed it, as here, as (:): and not as h.

(5) Seems to be nihsesa.

(6) The word seems meaningless; sita means sharpened or whitened, but the second portion seems ill joined.

(7) The origin of the Bhañjas from the egg of a peahen is referred to.

(8) Khinjani and Khindini equally appear for Khemidi in the plates of the Bhañjas.

(9) This form Sānta for Sāmanta is now in popular use in Orissā.

7. ॥ pūroga mātṛn-anyāśca daṇḍa pāsika ecāṭabhāṭa
vallabha jātiyām yathārha (:)

8. mānayati BAUDHA-PATI samādisayati cānyat sarvvataḥ
sivam=asmākaṁ viditamastu.

9. bhavatām Uttarapalli prativaddhaḥ JAINTĀMURĀ
sametah KUMURAKELĀ grāmah catuh si-

10. mā paryyantah sanidhi śc=opanidhiśca (:) KĀRTTIKA-
ŚUKLA-PAKSA MAHĀDVĀDAŚYĀM VIṢṆU.

11. BHATTĀRAKAM=udī[ddi]sya mātā (pi) tror=āt-
manaśca pa [pu] nyābhivṛddhaye (:) śalila dhārāpurah.

SECOND PLATE (REVERSE SIDE).

1. sareṇa (:) vidhinā (kā) śya (pa) sagotrāya Garga-Āpany=
Aṅgīrasa (1) pravarāyah Bahvṛ (2).

2. ja caraṇāya Vaṅgakuṭi vinirgatāya Gandhaṭapāṭi vyās
tavyāya (:) subrahmacāri-

3. ॥ Bhāṭa MANORATHĀYA (:) Bhāṭa NĀRĀYAṆA-
sūtāya (:) RĀṆAKAH ŚRĪ ŚATRU BHANJA DEVENA.

4. dat [tt]am Bhāṭa MANORATHASYA vidhir-vvidheyah
suviddhā[ddham] nīkṛtya tāmraśāsanah pratipādi

5. tam asmābhiḥ pārāṁparya kulāvātāreṇa yāvad-vedārdha
bacanaṁ kāṇḍāt kā (ṇḍā) t pra-

6. rohanti (:) ja [jyā] śatena pratānosi sahasreṇa virohasi (:)
Evaṁ buddhā parārdhaṇca pa-

7. rataḥ vaddhāvātāreṇāpi bhavadbhiḥ asmad=uparodhāt
ddharmma gauravācca nake

8. naciṭ svalpam=api vādhā karaṇīyam[yā] || Uktaṇca
ddharmma śāstre Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā-

9. rājābhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya
tadā phalaṁ Mābhū.

(1) The Pravara names do not fit in with the gotra name, for Kāśyapa, Apsara and Naidhruva should be the names. If Kāśyapa is a wrong reading, then even Garga and Angirasa cannot be joined with the unknown name looking like Apanya or Apalya; there is no Pravara name which resembles Apanaya either in form or sound. Garga appears in the company of Kaustubha and Mandavya and Angirasa with others and not with Garga. (Vide Savda Kalpadruma and the Gotra-pravara section of the Dharma Pradīpa by Dhanañjaya).

(2) Bahu + rik = Rgveda.

द न द्वि कथ व ॥ अ द न य र द न म्ना या दू र ति व म्ब र्गो स (वि म्बु याः क मि
 श्रे द्ध) यि कृ (द म द य द्वा ने) कि र त्वा मे क मो र क र्क मि म भू र्क म द्ध त
 द र न र के मा या (त या व द' क र्क म्बु वः ॥ अ (वि षं वि ष (मि द्वा (कृ वृ क्क म्बु
 वि य ऊ द्वा ने (वि ष म क्क (कि गा क्क नः वृ क्क म्बु य त यो कृ कं ॥ म्बे ष (अ य र द
 वा क्क मि द न म्बु ग म्बु न क्क ल्वा को वि द्वा र द या द्वा म्बु तं द र्ने न रः ॥ प क
 त म्बु न क ल्वा ग्गो व क्क म्बु चि न र क म्बु न र्द म्बु मि द न र म्बु नु ल व र्वा (कि र्ने म्बु
 द्वा न ॥ म्बु (मि द यः य वि द्वा क्क तिः य र क्क मि य द क्क ति ऊ र्क नो प द्वा क्क म्बु ॥
 चो नि य न्ने अ य र्क (मि नो ॥ कृ ण म्बु द ल (कि र्क म्बु क ल व र्क र्क म्बु र्क म्बु र्क (द
 वृ क्क र्क (कि र्क म्बु न लो य यो कृ ॥ १०० कि क म ल य ल म्बु वि द्वा लो बां ग य म न्बु
 द्वा म न्बु (कि र्क म्बु क ल (मि द म्बु र्क र्क न य वृ क्क न (कि य र्क म्बु म्बु र्क की र्क न लो द्वाः
 य व द्वा म न वि द्वा य ग्गु स म्बु र्क र्क य व र्क न म्बु क र्क ति कः ॥ १०० क य क्क म क र्क

Plate III (Inner side)

रञ्जालिखितमिदं सावित्रीयं दीप्त्यवाप्त्यन्नरः ॐ नमो भद्रकालाय नमः ॥
[नमो भद्रकालाय नमः ॥]

10. yah phalasamkāvah paradatteti pāthri[rthi]vāh |
Svadānāt=phalam=ānantyah paradattā nūpe [pā]-

11. lane As[ś]va meddh [dh] asahasrāni vājapeyah śātānica
| Pauṇḍarika sahasrāin bhūmi.

THIRD PLATE (FIRST SIDE).

1. dānādd-heyam ⁽¹⁾ phalam | Svadatām paradatām=vā yo
hareti vasundharām Svavisthāyāh kṛmi.

2. bhūtvā pitṛbhih saha pacyate | Hiranyam=ekam gorekam
bhūmim=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ.

3. Haram narakam-āyāti=yāvad-ābhūta saplavah | Avisam
visam=ity=āhuh vrahmasvaṁ.

4. visa ucyate Visamekākino hauti (:) vrahmasvaṁ putra
pautṛkaṁ || Sarvvesāmhāca pradānā

5. nām bhūmidāna prasasyate Kalpakoti gatam pāpam
sañcitam jarate narah | Eka-

6. viṁśati kulāny=eva kaṣṭam hi narakasthitam Bhūmidā-
nena mātrena Pracetābhir=vvimu-

7. cyate || Bhūmim yah pratigṛhṇāti (:) ya ca bhūmi
prayacchati Ubhau tau pūṇya karmā-

8. nau niyatau svarga gāminau (:) || Tṛnāgra jala vinduśca
jala vudvuda sādṛśam Sadṛśam jivi-

9. tam jñātvā kirtiddharma nalopayet Iti kamaladalāmvu
vindu lolām Sryamanuci-

10. ntya manusya jīvitam Sakalam=idam=ulāhri [hr] tañca
vuddhā nahi purusa parakirttam lopyāh.

11. Pravarddhamāna Vijayarājye Samvatsara PANCADAŚA
TAME Kārttikah Śuklapaksa Mahā-Dvā.

THIRD PLATE (REVERSE SIDE).

1. dasyām likhitam=idam sandhivigrahika SAVARADAT-
TENA (:) utkīrṇa suvarṇṇatkāra DEVALE.

2. NA Llāñchitam mahārājakiya mudranam=itih ||

(1) Danad x heya ; other works of piety are of inferior value.

III.—An Oriya Copperplate Inscription of Ramachandra Deva, Saka 1728.

By Rai Monmohan Chakravarti Bahadur, M.A., B.L.,
F.A.S.B., M.R.A.S.

THIS copperplate is in the possession of a Parsi gentleman who got it from a Brāhman at Broach in the Bombay Presidency. It consists of a single plate written on both sides. I edit the inscription from a fine ink impression kindly supplied to me by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Archaeological Survey Department, Western Circle. Copperplates in Oṛiyā characters are extremely rare. I know of only one such inscription, that of Puruśottama-deva, published by Mr. John Beames in the first volume of the Indian Antiquary. Hence though the present inscription is of recent date, it has been thought worth publishing.

The engraved portion, runs in 12 lines, 7 on the obverse and 5 on the reverse. The last two lines of the other side of the plate should be read reversed, and were added probably afterwards. The engraving is well done.

The letters are modern Oṛiyā, and do not differ from the present type, except in joint *ā*, which in three places (line 1, *paṭṭā* and line 12 *Thākur*) is written like modern conjunct *ya*. The letters are medium-sized, and are distinctly legible. In the ink impression the letters appear reversed, and have been read with the help of a mirror.

The language is modern Oṛiyā throughout, except in lines 9 and 10 where a Sanskrit verse is quoted. A transliteration of the text, according to the standard of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is annexed. It might be noticed that the Oṛiyā draws no distinction between the *va* and *ba* of Sanskrit. In copying the copyist has made a few mistakes, such as *tā* for *ttā* in *paṭṭā* (line 1), *je* for *ye* (line 3), *te* for *nte* in *pariyante*

(line 5), *Spha* for *ṣpha* in *niṣphala* (line 10), *kṣattra* for *kṣettra*, and *Akṣaya* for *Kṣaya* (line 11). The copyist has followed the current hand in abbreviating *sambanddha* to *smanddha* in lines 2-3, and *Puruṣottama* to *Puruṣottma* in lines 11-12, and in lengthening *sanmati* to *sanamati* (line 9).

The inscription purports to be a grant of the village Kakaṛāhaṇḍi to one Rādhācaraṇa Dāsa for the due performance of the *bhoga* of the idol Rasikasiromaṇi with two other images. The village Kakaṛāhaṇḍi is said to be in the division of Marakoṭa Pāṛiddāra of the Fort Jayapura. The *bhoga* consisted daily of three *dhupas* or meals and five *abakāsas* or interval rites as ablutions, etc. In the last two lines, the grant was passed on to Bhagabāna Dāsa Adhikāri of Gaṅgāmātā Maṭha in town Puri.

The grant was made at the time of the moon-eclipse in Saka year 1728, Yovian year Kṣaya, on Monday the 19th day of Mithuna, month Asāṛha, full-moon day. On calculation this date is equivalent to 30th June 1806, which was a Monday.

The grant was made with the consent of one Rāmachandra Deva, who was King of Nandapura. He has been given the usual *bīrudas* or titles assumed by Oṛiyā Chiefs.

The Gaṅgāmātā Maṭha spoken of in the last two lines, is situated in Bālisāhi of the Puri town, near the well-known holy tank of Svetagaṅgā, which might have given the name to the Maṭha. Within the Maṭha or monastery there still exists an image by name Rasika-rāja with the idols Rādhikā and Lalitā, one on each side. In the temple of the monastery are still held three meals (*dhupa*), morning, midday and evening, and only one *abakāsa*, viz., the cleansing of teeth followed by bath in the morning. Periodical festivals are also held in the Maṭha, of which the best known are Nandotsab, Jhulan or swinging and Rādhāṣṭamī.

Neither the village with the divisions, nor the tract Nandapura can be identified. An inquiry in the Maṭha has been fruitless. It is said that the Maṭha had land in the Kalāhāṇḍi State of the Central Provinces, but it was given up as being too far to be managed.

TEXT.*

Obverse.

Line 1. Siri Rādhācaraṇa-Dāsaṅku abadhāna kalāraipaṭ-(tt) ā. Paṭ-(tt) ā-nirṇaya, Srī Rasika-siroma—

l. 2. ṇi-yugala-murttiṅka Amṛta-moṇa-i nima-(mi) tte Jaya-pura-durga Marakoṭa-pāṛiddāra sma (samba)—

l. 3. niddha Kakaṛāhaṇḍi-grāma, e dina candra-grahana-samayare abadhāna kalāi je (ye), e

l. 4. grāma sa-jala-sthala-nidhi-nikhāta-kāṣṭha-pāsāṇa-padara-pankāla-chāya-upachāya-san—

l. 5. dhi-sim-āntare yābas-candr-ārke bhasm-āntake pāraṇi parya-(*n) te Srī Rasika-si—

l. 6. romaṇi-yugala-murttiṅku Amṛta-moṇa-i karāi, nitya tini dhupa pāṇca abakā—

l. 7. sare kalyāṇa karu thiba. Ethire āna abadhāna nāhi. Srī Rājādhira—

REVERSE.

l. 1. (8) ja-Mahārāja-Birādhībīrabara-Pratāpa-Srī-Nandapura-bhūpati-Srī-Rāmacandra—

l. 2. (9) Deva-Mahārājāṅkara sana(n)mati. Sva-dattaṁ di-(dvi) guṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ [*].

l. 3. (10) Para datt-āpahāreṇa sva-dattaṁ nis-(s) phalaṁ bhavet. Sālibāhana Sak-ābda 1728,

l. 4. (11) tma (ttama)-ksa-(e) tra Srī Gaṅgāmātā—Thākuraṇiṅka maṭha Srī-Bhagabāna Dāsa Adhikāri Gosāiṅka [*].

l. 5. (12) Aksaya-nāma-sambatsara Mithuna di 19, na Āsārha suddha 15 Soma-bāre [*]. Srī Puruso—

TRANSLATION.

The lease to Rādhācaraṇa Dāsa after representation (to the king). The reason of the lease, for the nectared food (*bhoga*) of the (idol) Rasika-siromaṇi (the crest jewel of all *rasikas*, i.e., Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa) with the images of a couple (Rādhikā

* Edited from an ink impression kindly sent by Mr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar of the Archaeological Survey Department, Western Circle, Poona.

and Lalitā), the village Kakṛāhaṇḍi in Mārakoṭa Paṛiddāra (division of) Jayapura fort (is granted). This day at the time of the moon-eclipse it was ordered that this village with (all) water, land, weakh, mine, wood, stone, upland or muddy (low) land, shade or the shaded, junction, or boundary end, (is granted) as long as the sun and moon (last), till the burning up end (of this world, i.e., *pralaya*), for the nectared *bhoga* of the Rasika-siromaṇi with double images. Daily by three meals and five ablutions (the king's) welfare should be sought. In this let there be no neglect. (Granted with) the consent of Śrī Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Virādhivīravara Pratāpa Śrī Rāmacandra Deva Mahārāja, King of Nandapura.

(Next a Sanskrit verse.) Double the merit of one's own gift comes from the maintenance of another's gift; by the theft of another's gift one's own gift becomes fruitless.

(Date) Śālivāhāna Sakābda 1728, the *īoriyan* year Aksaya, Mithuna 19th day, the month Āsāṛha bright half 15, Monday. (This is of Śrī Bhagavāna Dāsa Adhikāri Gosāi of Śrī Gaṅgāmātā Thakurāṇi Maṭha in Purusottama Ksettra.

IV.—Maner Copperplate of King Govinda Chandra Dev of Kanouj.

By Professor Ramavatara Sarma, M.A.

FOREWORD.

THIS is the Maner (Maniyara, as spelt in the Inscription) copperplate of King Govinda Chandra of Kanouj (1105—1142 A.D.). The Inscription is dated Jyeshtha, 1183, Vikrama Samvat (1126 A.D.). Some years ago in the course of a law-dispute, a man of Maner (a village in the western part of the Patna District) filed the plate in court. One of the pleaders of this man was a brother of Professor Jadunāth Sarkar of the Patna College and the latter kept a transcript and photo of the plate. Professor Sarkar has very kindly lent me the transcript and also a printing from the photograph of the plate and has generously permitted me to translate and edit it for which I owe him sincere thanks.

Five kings of Kanyakubja (Kanouj) are mentioned in this plate. I. Yasovigraha, II. Mahichandra, son of I, III. Chandra Deva, son of II., IV. Madanapala, son of III, and V. Govinda Chandra, son of IV. In other plates of the Dynasty, Govinda Chandra is mentioned as husband of Nayana Kālī Devi and father of Rajyapala and of Vijayapala (father of Jayachandra, the famous rival of Prithviraja). King Chandra Deva is extolled as founder of the Gadhipura or Kanouj kingdom. Madanapala and Govinda Chandra both appear as conquerors. The latter is also a poet.

Maniyara (Maner) was a Pattala or administrative division of the kingdom. Padali, a village in the division, is given in charity by Govinda Chandra to the Brahman, Ganesvara Sarman, son of Thakkura Dedabha and grandson of Thakkura Siva of the

Kasyapa race. This gift is announced in this plate. A strange thing, known as the Turk's duty or blackmail, is mentioned in the inscription. It was written by the court scribe, Srivisvabhupa. A literal English translation of the inscription is given here.

Translation of Maner inscription of King Govinda Chandra I. of Kānyakubja, date of Inscription 1183 Vikarma Samvat or 1126 A.D.

THE GLORIOUS KING GOVINDA CHANDRA.

Welfare (to all). Be for your welfare that vigour of Lakshmi at the commencement of her conjugal life wherein her arms danced on the neck plate of the irresistibly eager Vishnu. After series of kings of the Solar family had gone to heaven, there was the noble king, Yasovigraha by name, like the sun-god himself with his effulgent splendour. His son was Mahichandra, by whom his own infinite fame like the lunar lustre was spread across the ocean. His son was the glorious king, Chandra Deva, attached solely to policy, who had subjugated the circle of enemies, had annihilated the darkness of the unrestrained heroic soldiers, by whom had been earned through the prowess of his arms the unrivalled suzerainty of the Gadhi city (Kanyakubja), where the popular discontent was wholly extinguished by his very noble valour; by whom protecting the holy sites of Kashi, Kushika and North Kosala, after acquisition and ceaselessly giving away gold weighed against himself to the twice-born, the earth was marked with hundreds of balances. Victorious is his son Madanpala, the crest-jewel of the lords of the earth and the moon of his dynasty, by the water poured from whose coronation pitchers, the earth's incrustation of the Kali's dirt was washed off; during whose victorious expeditions causing the downward fall of the earth owing to the unexampled weight of the moving steps of intoxicated elephants, stalking loftily like high mountains, the famous Shesha for a moment hid his face in his lap, as from the pressure he felt as he stood smeared with coagulated blood dropping from the palate pierced by the crest-gems. Like the moon from the ocean, from him King Govinda Chandra was born,

who is the source of speeches exuding thick ambrosial drops and who has in the folds of his long arm-cordons enchained the new kingdom-elephant; whose arrayed elephants did not find in the three quarters, the elephants fit at all for an encounter and then wandered in the Thunderbearer's quarter as rivals of the mate of Abhramu (Airavata elephant). This same king with his feet served by the circle of all the princes, the glorious lord Govinda Chandra, in victory, master of thought in various lores, lord of the three estates, lord of the horses, lord of the elephants and lord of men, supreme lord, suzerain over great kings, supreme ruler, solely devoted to the mighty lord (Shiva), patronized by the feet (successor) of the glorious lord Madanapala, supreme lord, suzerain over great kings, supreme ruler, solely devoted to the mighty lord (Siva), patronized by the feet (successor) of the glorious lord Chandra, supreme lord, suzerain over great kings, supreme ruler, solely devoted to the mighty lord, who acquired suzerainty over the rich Kanyakubja with his own arms, commands, informs and directs those who live in Padali with Gunadi in the Maniyar division, all the countrymen assembled and also kings, queens, princes, ministers, lords of the gate, commanders, treasurers, policemen, divisional officers, physicians, astrologers, harem-guards, ambassadors and officers connected with elephants, horses, municipalities, mines and cattle. Be it known to you that the village cited above with land and water, with metal-mines and salt-quarries, with fish ponds, with pits and deserts, with groves and jungles of *mahua* and mangoes, including plants, grass and meadows with all above and below, with the definite four limits including the borders, was thoughtfully given, with the order enduring as long as the moon and the sun exist, to the Brahmana Thakkura Sri Ganeshvara Sarman, son of Thakkura Dadabha, grandson of Thakkura Shiva, having three pravaras, Kasyapa, Avatsara and Naidhruba, of the Kasyapa family, by us, with water from the palm rendered holy by the touch of the cow's ear and Kusa-grass, for the continuity of the virtue and fame of my parents and of myself, after bathing in the Ganges at the rich Kanyakubja (city), gratifying, according to the rites,

the *mantras*, the deities, the saints, the men, the ghosts and the manes, waiting upon the hot-rayed sun, whose beams are strong enough to dispel clouds of darkness, worshipping the god who bears on the head a digit of the lord of the herbs, offering worship to Vasudeva, the guardian of the three worlds, throwing into fire, offerings full of milk and rice, on Sunday, the 11th of the black fortnight of Jyestha in the year eleven hundred eighty three, in figures 1183. Obedient to my command, you shall give all dues as given now including the revenue, the trade-duties and the Turk's duty. Verses also occur in this context. He who receives land and he who gives it, both the virtuous parties certainly go to heaven. O Indra, The conch, the throne, the umbrella, excellent horses and excellent elephants are the result and marks of land-gift. Ramabhadra makes this request to all the future King's 'all of you should at all times maintain this religious duty common to all men'. Sagara and many other Kings have enjoyed the earth: He gets the fruit to whom the land belongs for the time being. Taking away a single cow, one piece of gold and even one finger-measure of land, a man lives in hell until the destruction of all beings. One taking away land cannot be purified by a thousand tanks, a hundred horse-sacrifices and the gift of crores of cows. He who takes away land given by himself or by another is drowned in dung with his ancestors, being a worm. A donor of land lives in heaven for sixty thousand years and one, who takes it away as also his approver, lives in hell for the same number of years. Those who take away a deity's or a Brahman's property are born black serpents living in dry hollows in waterless forests. What good man takes away again those gifts which were given before by Kings for virtue, wealth and fame; for these gifts are like left-off garlands and vomitings? Suzerainty over the earth is sportive like a storm-cloud; enjoyment of sensuous objects is sweet until its fall; lives of men are like water-drops at the tip of a grass-blade: Certainly virtue alone is a real friend when one has to leave for the next world. This copper plate was inscribed by the State-officer prince Thakkurva Srivisva.



[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is largely illegible due to extreme fading and blurring. The text appears to be organized into several vertical columns.]

श्रीमन्नोविन्दचन्द्रदेव :

- १ स्वस्ति अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपौठलुठत्कः ।
 संरन्मः सुरतारन्मे स श्रियः श्रियमेस्तु वः ॥
 आसौद श्रौतद्वृत्तिवृत्तजातक्ष्मापाल-मालासु दिवंग-
- २ तासु । साक्षाद्विविधानिव भूरि धाम्ना नाम्ना यशो-विग्रह इत्युदारः ॥
 तत्सु तोऽभून्महौचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभं निजम् । येनापारमङ्गु गर-पार-
 यापारितं यशः ॥ तस्या भूत्तन-
- ३ यो नयक-रसिकः क्रान्तद्विघ्नमण्डलो विश्वस्तोद्धतवोरयोधतिमिरः
 श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं
 श्रीमन्नाधिपुराधिराव्यमसमं दो-
- ४ विक्रमेणार्जितम् ॥ तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तर-कोशलेन्द्र-स्थानीयकानिः
 परिपालयताभिगम्य । हेमात्मतुल्यमनिघं ददता दिजेभ्यो
 येनाङ्किता वसुमती शतशस्तुला-
- ५ भिः ॥ तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इतिक्षितीन्द्र-चूडामणिर्विजयते निजगोत्र
 चन्द्रः । यस्याभिषेककलखोक्तसितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजः-
 पटलं धरिच्छयाः ॥
- ६ यस्यासीदिनयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलन्नादत्कुम्भिपदक्रमासमभर
 भ्रष्टन्महौमण्डल । चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालुगलितस्थानाद्यगुद्भासितः
 शेषः पेषवशादि-
- ७ व क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहुवक्त्रिवन्धवारुद्ध
 नवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः । सान्द्रावृतद्रवमुचां प्रभवो गवां यो गोविन्द
 चन्द्र इति च-
- ८ न्न इवास्मुराशेः ॥ नकथमप्यलभन्तरतरणक्षमां-स्तिष्ठु दिक्षु गजानथ
 वज्रिणः । ककुभि बभ्रुमुरभ्रमुवक्ष्मभ-प्रतिभटा इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥
 सोयं समस्तराज-
- ९ चक्रसंसेवितचरणः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजे परमेश्वर परम-
 माहेश्वर निजभुजोपार्जित-श्रीकान्यकुजाधिपत्य श्रीचन्द्रदेव-पादा-
 बुध्धात परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजे

- १० राजाधिराज परमेश्वर परममाहेश्वर श्री-मदनपालदेव-पादानुध्यात परम-
भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर परममाहेश्वराश्वपति गजपति-
नरपति राज
- ११ त्रयाधिपति विविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पति श्री-महोविन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयौ
मनियरे पत्तलायां गुणादेसह पङ्कजी-ग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजान-
पदानुपगता-
- १२ नपि च राजराज्ञी युवराज मन्त्रिपुरोद्धतप्रतिहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिका-
क्षपटलिकभिषग्ने मित्तिकान्तः-पुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाकरस्थान-
गोकुला-
- १३ धिकारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति बोधयत्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां
यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः
सगर्तोषरः
- १४ समभूकाम्बुवनवाटिका-वितपटण्युति-गोचर-पर्यन्तः सोर्ध्वाधश्चतुराघाटे
विशुद्धः ससीमापर्यन्तः त्र्यशौत्यधिकैकादशशतसंवत्सरे ज्येष्ठे मासि
कृष्णपक्षेका
- १५ दश्यां रविदिनेऽङ्कतः संवत् ११८३ ज्येष्ठ वदि ११ रवौ श्री-कान्तकुल-
गङ्गायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपिढगणां-स्वर्पयित्वा
तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-
- १६ मुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधिपतिशकलशेखरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्वासुदे-
वस्य पूजां विधाय प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रो-
रात्मनश्च पु
- १७ गययशोभिवृद्धये-स्माभिगोकर्ण-कुशलता-पूतकरतलोदकपूर्वं काश्यपगोत्राय,
काश्यपावत्सारनैधुवन्निप्रवण्य ठक्कुरशिवपौत्राय ठक्कुर-देडभ-
- १८ पुत्राय श्रीगणेश्वरशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय चन्द्रार्कं यावच्छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो मत्वा
यथादीयमान भागभोगकर प्रवणिकर तुरध्कदण्डप्रभृति सर्वादाया-
- १९ नाज्ञाविधेयोभूय दास्यथेति * भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥
- २० शङ्खं भद्रासनं कृत्वा वराश्या वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चानि फलमेतत्प
रुन्दर ॥ सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवन्नाभूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः

- २१ सामान्योयं धममेतुर्नराणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य ॥
तदा फलम् ॥
- २२ गामेकां खर्णमेकञ्च भूमिरप्येकमङ्गुलम् । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंज्ञवम्
तडागानां सहस्रेणाप्यश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदाने-
- २३ न भूमिहृत्ता न शुध्यति ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधराम् ।
सविष्ठायां ह्यमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ षष्टिर्वर्षवहस्राणि
स्वर्गेवसति भूमि-
- २४ दः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ बारिहीनेध्वरण्येषु
शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पापूच जायन्ते देवत्रक्षस्वहारिणः ॥
यानीहृद-
- २५ तानि पुरानरेन्द्रैर्दानाति धर्मार्थयज्ञस्कराणि । निर्माद्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददेत् ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधि-
पत्य-
- २६ मापातमात्रमधुरा विषयोपभोगाः । प्राणास्त्रृणाग्रजलविन्दुसमा नराणां
धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ लिखितं चेदं ताम्रपट्टकं
करणिक-
- ठक्क र श्री विश्वभूपेनेति

V.—Death and Cremation Ceremonies Among the Santals.

By the Hon'ble and Rev. A. Campbell, D.D.

ON a death occurring in a village the goṛet or village messenger is informed and he communicates the intelligence to the villagers and says, "Come, let us cremate him." All the relatives within a reasonable distance are also apprised of the occurrence. All assemble with as little delay as possible at the dead man's house, and there is much weeping and wailing on the part of the females. Preparations for the "lifting" are hurried on. Some cotton seed and rice are parched and a fowl is caught. The eldest son puts a rupee between the dead man's teeth, and a baiṭ, loṭā and some money are placed beside the corpse on the bier. Women mark the body with *sindūr* and grind some turmeric. Fire is taken by lighting a thick straw rope and a handful of thatch is pulled out of the roof. The corpse is then carried on a bed, which serves as a bier, and deposited at the end of the village street where two roads meet, a deep-toned drum is beaten five times, and sometimes guns are fired at the time the corpse is being brought out of the house. Women bathe the hands and the feet of the corpse, and anoint it with oil and turmeric and a little of the parched cotton seed and rice are sprinkled on the ground at each of the four posts of the bed, and the fowl is carried three or four times round it. The body is then removed to the neighbourhood of a tank or stream and a funeral pyre prepared. Women do not go to the place of cremation. After they have performed the services to the dead which fall to them, they go to bathe, and return to put the house in order, and prepare parched rice and grind flour to make bread.

When the pyre is ready a part of the head of the corpse is shaved, if it is that of a male, and some red pigment applied

to the feet. The eldest son then washes the mouth, feet and hands of the corpse. His younger brothers do the same, as also all relatives present. After this ceremony is over they look to see what in the way of brass vessels, cloth or money have been sent with the corpse. These are all taken possession of, as well as the rupee which was placed between the teeth, and whatever personal ornaments there may be. The body is carried three times round the funeral pyre and then placed on it. The fowl, which has already been referred to, is also carried three times round the pyre, and then nailed to the post on the east side of the pyre. The eldest son winds some cotton thread round a reed, which he lights at a firebrand, and then holding the burning reed in his left hand with his face averted, applies the fire to the mouth of the corpse, and having done so throws the reed on to the pile. At the same time all present throw a small piece of firewood on the pile and say, "Now, do not delay us, consume quickly, see, we are providing the firewood." The eldest son also throws a bit of firewood on the pyre in the name of each absent relative. Fire is then applied to the pyre by means of the handful of thatch pulled from the roof of the dead man's house. The cremators then retire to the shade of some tree near by, where they are shaved. The dead man's eldest son has both head and face operated on.

A small earthenware vessel has been brought to receive the pieces of bone rescued from the ashes. The eldest son, with his own hands, grinds a piece of potsherd into a circular shape to close the mouth of this vessel, and in the centre he bores a hole into which he inserts a piece of the culm of a certain grass.*

When the body has been consumed the fire is extinguished by pouring water over it, and the eldest son picks from the ashes a piece of the frontal bone, the collar bone, and the upper arm. These pieces of bone are first washed with water, then with milk, then with turmeric water and again with clean water, after which they are deposited in the forementioned earthenware vessel

* *Rollboellia perforata*, Roxb.

and the opening is closed by the piece of potsherd. The grass culm sticks up in the middle. The vessel is hermetically sealed with a paste made with rice flour and turmeric water.

As the refuse, ashes, etc., of the funeral pyre would be desecrated if touched by human hand, they are floated away with water, and the area occupied by the fire is delved all over. The delver avoids coming into direct contact with the soil on which the pyre rested by standing on an old *haṭak* or winnowing fan. A mixture of cowdung and water is then sprinkled over the newly turned-up soil, and roasted cotton seed and parched rice are scattered over the places where the four corner posts of the pyre had been fixed.

This over, the eldest son and two or three others go home to prepare for the journey to the Damuda (Dāmodar) river, to the waters of which the *jaṅg baḥa*, or pieces of bone rescued from the funeral pyre, of every Santāl are consigned. The others bathe and wash their clothes in cold water, and then collect whatever was found on or with the corpse; of these the barber is awarded a loṭa and a piece of cloth, the remainder are carried to the village. On the way they cut four saplings of the Indian ebony tree (*Diospyros tomentosa*) and pull a few handfuls of chero grass. Arrived at the entrance to the village street one of their number goes to the dead man's house and a woman makes for him four bags, three of leaves and one of cloth. In one of the leaf bags he puts parched rice, in another bread, and in the third husked rice. He also gets some flour, salt, turmeric, ground charcoal, burned clay from the cooking stove, *sindūr* and a well grown pullet. With these he returns to where the other cremators are waiting for him at the entrance to the village where two roads meet. The women of the house follow him wailing, and bringing milk and water in leaf-cups. One of the cremators then makes a little hollow in the ground, and on the side towards the west he marks out a square with the burned clay from the stove, and deposits some rice in the centre of it, and makes three marks round it with *sindūr*. He then takes the pullet, marks it with *sindūr*, and putting its back close to

the rice allows it to pick a grain from the centre of the square. Then grasping it in his left hand he goes three times round the assembled company. This is repeated thrice, and the fowl is sacrificed by having the head severed from the body by the neck being pressed against the sharp edge of a battle-axe.

The pieces of bone rescued from the ashes of the funeral pyre are euphoniously called the *jāṅg bāhā*, or the bone flowers, and are treated with the utmost respect and reverence. Preparatory to taking the *jāṅg bāhā* to the Damuda river the following ceremony is observed : The eldest son of the deceased takes the pieces of bone out of the earthenware vessel in which they were placed at the cremation ground and holds them in his hand. Three of the saplings cut on the way home by the cremators are tied together near the top and fixed in the ground over the hollow already referred to, and the earthenware vessel which contained the *jāṅg bāhā* is placed on the top of them. The pieces of bone are held over this vessel and the women pour first water, then milk, and again water over them. The pieces of bone are then put into the cloth bag and the eldest son of the deceased ties them up in a corner of his loin cloth, and taking the fourth sapling in his hand goes three times round the sticks on which the earthen vessel rests. On completing the third circuit he aims a blow with the stick at the earthenware vessel, and if it be broken to pieces it is supposed that there will be no more deaths in the family at present, but should it not be shattered to pieces, one or more deaths may be expected in the near future.

It falls to an eldest son, if there should be one, to take the *jāṅg bāhā* to the Damuda river. Having selected his companions he sets out on his way to perform this, the most important rite, in connection with the disposal of the dead. If the river is a long way off they go a little distance in the direction in which it lies and then return home and wait until suitable provision can be made for the journey.

The articles which were found on, or sent with the corpse to the burning-ground are sold and the money given to the

cremators. With it they purchase materials for a meal, not forgetting a moderate supply of liquor. A goat is killed, but only the head is cooked and eaten on the spot, the carcass is divided and each man carries his share home in a raw state.

The party who go to the Damuda take with them parched rice, bread made of rice flour, rice, cloth, a wristlet and some shell money. These are required in connection with the ceremonies which are observed on the occasion of consigning the *jāṅg bāhā* to the waters of the Damuda river. The Damuda is the sacred river of the Santāls, and in their language is known as the Nāi is the old name in Santāli for a river, but it has entirely disappeared from modern Santāli. It is, however, retained in connection with the Damuda which is known as the Nāi. Sometimes Nāi is used as a proper name having the modern Santāli word for river added to it. It is then the Nāi river. After leaving home the party never look behind in the direction from which they have come. On reaching the Nāi the shell money and the wristlet are deposited on the bank. After bathing an altar is constructed and on it parched rice and bread are offered. Then taking the *jāṅg bāhā* or bits of bone in his hand the eldest son of the deceased enters the river facing up stream, and going under the water he turns his face down stream and at the moment of rising he lets go the pieces of bone which sink into the sand. At times when the river is low the pieces of bone are buried in the sand. Individuals of the Dōm or Hāri caste are always near and they appropriate the garment, which has been discarded by him who took the bones into the river, as also the money and wristlet, which were deposited on the river bank, and the parched rice and bread left on the altar.

This over, they turn their steps homewards. Nothing that they brought with them from home can be taken back. Food must be consumed, and whatever money they have is spent in liquor; sometimes wealthy people, whose homes are at a distance from the Nāi, observe the Karam festival at some convenient place during the return journey.

On the Nāi party reaching home three of their number are supposed to become possessed of Marang Buru, Porodhol and the spirit of the person who had died and whose *jāṅg bāhā* has recently been consigned to the sacred waters of the Nāi. The men who are supposed to be possessed by Marang Buru and Porodhol, each receive a winnowing fan with some rice in it, and to a question they put to the third man he replies, "I am dead." He is then asked to state how his death was brought about, to which he answers, "There was no room for me in the eyes of a certain man, and for that reason I died." The meaning of this is that through envy some person had brought about his death. He is then told to ask for water, and on his doing so the eldest son of the deceased gives him water which he drinks. The other sons also give him water one after the other according to their ages. Milk is sometimes given instead of water. He is then asked, "Is there any danger in the future?" and he replies, "There is danger, but consult the *ojhas* or medicine men, propitiate and sacrifice fowls and nothing evil will happen to you." The men possessed recover their identity and the end is reached.

The Chore sept of Santāls do not consign the *jāṅg bāhā* to the waters of the Nāi. They stuff them into a crab's hole on the bank of the Guā Nāi, an affluent of the Nāi or Damuda river. This fact may account for the Chore sept calling themselves Guā Soren when in search of wives.

The *jāṅg bāhā* of children are not taken to the Nāi, but are disposed of at the place of cremation.

The last of all the rites for the dead which are observed is known as the *bhandan*. It generally takes place ten days or so after the return from the Nāi, but the time depends very much upon the convenience of the parties concerned. The *bhandan* is a family gathering and all relatives are invited to be present.

The *bhandan* proceedings are commenced by the dead man's relatives giving an account of what has taken place in the stereotyped form usual on such an occasion. The guests reply also in a like form expressing their sympathy with the family

and acknowledging the hospitality which has been shown towards them.

Then three men are chosen to adopt the means whereby they shall become possessed. One is to be possessed by Marang Buru, another by Porodhol and the third by the man whose *bhandan* ceremony is being performed. Each man is given a *haṭak* or winnowing fan in which is some rice which has been husked without boiling. They sit in a row rubbing the rice in the *haṭaks* and shaking their heads frantically from side to side. When they are believed to have become possessed they are regarded as having lost their identity in that of him by whom they are possessed, and are addressed as *longās* or gods. The term *Gosāe* is used indiscriminately by Santāls when addressing the objects which they worship. Some one addressing the men says, "Come *Gosāe*, you are now holding *haṭaks* made by Māhlis from hill bamboos; your disciples are seated. Come like a cow returning to her calf." The men with their long black hair hanging down frantically shake their heads and sway their bodies from side to side and in a short time the *Gosāes* invoked are supposed to possess them. Then some one addressing them says, "Oh! *Gosāe*, you have come to your disciples and pupils, tell us about your tribe and origin and then we human beings will know that it is this god that has come, then Oh! *Gosāe*, we will place stools under a *Hesak* or *Bare* tree and worship." Then those possessed reply, "As you human beings are questioning us we will tell you who and what we are. Oh! human beings, I have come". (The spirit of the dead man is supposed to speak.) Then they say, "Oh! *Gosāe*, tell us truly why you left us", to which he, sobbing, replies, "Oh! human beings, I am dead and fallen, my lease of life was only for so many days." They again say, "Oh! *Gosāe*, ask the person from whom you require something." He then begs water from his son, who gives it to him in a leaf cup. He then asks it from each of his relatives (or sons) in turn. After the water he is regaled with *handi* liquor. A *haṭak* is given to him, the rice in which he offers to the *longās*. The eldest

son asks for assurance that no deception has been practised upon them. This given, the possessed are reminded that the day is far spent and that the time has arrived when they should return to the sky, which advice they are supposed to follow.

A cow is then brought in to the courtyard of the house, and the deceased's eldest son scatters some rice on the ground for her, and says, "See, I am giving thee thy share ; see it and listen to it. I offer an oblation of cooked rice and a sacrifice. See that you accept them. Watch over the children and guard them. See to it that no sorrow or sin enters this house." The cow is then killed as an offering to the spirit of the deceased. The relatives also bring goats and fowls which are similarly offered, each offerer saying, "Take note, this is offered to you by so and so." The carcasses of the animals offered in sacrifice are cooked with rice and the night is spent in feasting.

VI.—A General Account of the Birhōrs.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

I.—HABITAT.

THE hills and jungles that fringe the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau on **Local Extent.** its east and north-east, form the principal home of the Birhōrs. This line of hills runs from the Rāmgarh thānā in the Hāzāribāgh district on the north along the Oṛmānjhi, Angārā, Rānchi, and Būṇḍū Police circles (*thānās*) on the east of the Rānchi plateau up to and beyond the Tāmār thānā which marks the south-eastern limit of the Rānchi district. Here and there in these hills and jungles extending roughly over an area of over seventy miles in length and twenty miles in breadth, the Birhōrs either wander about in small scattered communities tracking game and collecting rope-fibres and honey, or camp in tiny leaf-huts, making rude wooden vessels and plaiting ropes and weaving them into hunting-nets and carrying-nets. Several groups of Birhōrs are met with beyond the north-eastern margin of the plateau in the jungles and hills further north in the Hāzāribāgh district north of the Dāmōdar, where they muster strong; and a few scattered groups have strayed into the Mānbhūm district on the east and the Singhbhūm district on the south. A few stray groups of Birhōrs are also found in the jungles and hills of some of the northern and north-western thānās of the Rānchi district and the tributary States further to the west. The nature of the country occupied by the tribe may be roughly described as a long succession of ranges of wooded hills separated by open valleys. These valleys alone are fit for cultivation, and are dotted over with villages sparsely inhabited by agricultural tribes and castes more civilized than the Birhōrs.

The Birhōrs themselves generally select comparatively open **Flora and Fauna.** spaces on the wooded hill-tops and slopes, or the edges of the jungles for their t̃āṇḍās or settlements. These jungles and hills support a tropical flora, among which are timber trees like the *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) and the *gāmhār* (*Gmelina arborea*), wild fruit trees like the *jāmūn* (*Eugenia Jambolana*), the *bair* (*Zizyphus Fajuba*), the *mahuū* (*Bassia Latifolia*), myrobalans of different varieties and a few kinds of wild yams and tubers, besides bamboos and fibrous creepers like the *chōp* (*Bauhinia scanden*). Shrubs bearing edible berries, such as the *piāl* (*Buchania Latifolia*), are not numerous. And thus the natural vegetation of these hills and jungles affords but scanty food for the Birhōrs. Among the fauna of these woods the deer, the porcupine, the hare, the rat, and the monkey are the more important from the Birhōr's point of view, as their flesh is highly prized by him for food. The tiger, the leopard, the hyæna, the bear, the wolf, the blue cow or nilgāi (*Boselaphus tragocamelus*) are also met with here and there in these jungles. Among birds, the peacock, the pigeon, the plover, the partridge, the snipe, the teal, and parrots are worth mentioning. As may be expected in these surroundings, the Birhōr has developed into a keen hunter with strong powers of scent, sight and hearing, and has acquired an intimate knowledge of the haunts and habits of different birds and animals, and the medicinal properties of various roots and herbs.

The climate of these parts is characterized by oppressive heat **Climate.** in the summer season, severe cold in the winter and a heavy rainfall during the monsoon. The maximum temperature in summer has been known to exceed 110° in the shade and the minimum in winter has fallen below 40°. The annual rainfall varies from 50 to 65 inches, so that in the rainy months, the Birhōr can no longer move about in pursuit of game but must perforce stop in *kumbas* or leaf-sheds, eking out his scanty store, if any, of dried corollā of the *mahuū* (*Bassia latifolia*) flower with some edible leaves or roots or yams gathered in the jungle, or with grain exchanged for, or purchased with,

the sale-proceeds of ropes made of *chōp* fibre, or rude vessels made of wood. Thus, the flora and fauna of his habitat have largely determined the nature and quantity of his food, the size of his food-groups or *ṭāṇḍās*, the character and material of his dwellings, and have influenced his occupation, material culture, and even social organization.

II.—JĀGHIS AND UṬHLŪS.

As their name of Birhōr, or 'jungle-folk', suggests, the tribe live in a state of almost primitive culture well calculated to rejoice the heart of the anthropologist. They wander about, or settle down for a time, in small groups of from three to about ten families, earning a precarious subsistence by hunting, by collecting *chōp* creepers and making them into ropes for barter or sale in the nearest villages or markets, and by gathering bees'-wax and honey when available. Although the most cherished occupation of all the men of the tribe is hunting, the Birhōrs are, according to their mode of living, divided into two main divisions, known respectively as the Uṭhlūs and the Jāghis. Except in the rainy season, the Uṭhlū (migratory) Birhōrs move about from jungle to jungle in small groups with their families, their scanty belongings, and their gods or *bhuts*, represented by stones and wooden pegs and carried in baskets by one or two young bachelors, who walk at the head of the party. Other boys carry fowls meant for occasional sacrifices to the gods, the men follow with their hunting nets and tools and weapons, the women carry palm-leaf mats, wooden mortars and pestles, and both men and women carry bamboo-baskets containing their scanty store of dried *mahuā* flowers and any grain they may have laid by, and the girls carry earthen pots for cooking and carrying water. They stop and hunt at one place for about a week or a fortnight (except in the rainy months which they spend at one place), and then move on to another jungle, and similarly camp and hunt there, and again move on to still another jungle, and thus wander about in search of food until they come back to their original

starting point in about two years' time, and start once more on a similar tour along the same route.

The Jāghi (settled) Birhōrs, on the other hand, are those families that, tired of toilsome wanderings, have settled down for a comparatively long period, generally on some hill-top or the borders of some jungle. Some Birhōrs of this latter class may clear some land in the jungle for purposes of more or less permanent cultivation, but the majority are landless. Birhōrs, both Uṭhlū and Jāghi, however, sometimes rear a scanty crop of maize or beans by burning a patch of jungle, scratching the soil and sowing in the ashes. Even the landed Jāghi Birhōrs rarely stop at one place for any considerable length of time. The slightest ill-treatment, real or supposed, by the landlord of the place or by people of the neighbouring villages or the growing scarcity of *chōp* creepers in the jungles makes them migrate to some more suitable place, or fall back to their old Uṭhlū or nomad life. Indeed, there is no Jāghi settlement I have seen that is more than fifteen or twenty years old, although I have heard of a few that are older. Some Jāghis have been known to revert to their old nomad or Uṭhlū life out of sheer ennui. And even some landed Jāghi families leave their ṭandās and rove about with their scanty belongings and lead an Uṭhlū life from after the paddy harvest in December until the rains set in by about the middle of June. Generally, a Jāghi Birhōr after his marriage with an Uthlu wife sooner or later joins the group of his Uṭhlū father-in-law and takes to a nomadic life. And this is one reason why Jāghis now-a-days are averse to marrying their sons and daughters to Uṭhlū. The Uṭhlūs by reason of their greater exclusiveness have retained more of their primitive customs and usages than the Jāghis who come more frequently in contact with the Hindus and Hinduized tribes of the valleys. Still an analysis of the culture even of the Uṭhlūs will reveal certain traits that do not appear to have evolved from within and cannot be attributed to race, but betray evident traces of social environmental influences.

III.—THE TĀṆDĀ AND ITS HOUSES.

The settlements of *Jāghi* groups as well as the temporary encampments of *Uṭhlū* groups are both known as *ṭāṇḍās*. A *ṭāṇḍā* usually consists of about half-a-dozen or more huts. In a *ṭāṇḍā* of the *Uṭhlū* *Birhōrs*, the huts are mere improvised leaf-sheds in the form of low triangular *kūmbās* or straw-shelters, such as their neighbours, the *Munḍās* and the *Orāons*, erect near their rice-fields to guard them when the crops are ripening. Each family erects its separate shed or sheds made of branches and leaves. Each of these sheds has one opening, sometimes provided with a door made of branches and leaves. The houses in a *Jāghi* *ṭāṇḍā* are a little more pretentious. Although the roofs of their huts are generally made of branches covered over with leaves, the *Jāghi* huts have often better walls, some of which are made of branches plastered over with mud, and some even wholly made of mud. Their huts usually possess slightly raised floors. Although each family has generally only one hut, it is partitioned off into at least two compartments, one serving as the lumber-room in which their possessions, consisting generally of one or more iron axes, hunting nets, rope-making tools, and a few earthen pots in which dried corolla of the *mahuā* flower and perhaps grains are stored and where the ancestor spirits are worshipped, and another and a larger one forming a kitchen and sleeping-room combined.

A corner of the larger room is, if required, staved off as a pen for fowls or for goats or cattle, if the owner happens to possess any. In some *ṭāṇḍās* there may be one or two comparatively well-to-do *Birhōr* families who have mud-walls to their huts and even a separate shed or lean-to for cattle. Some clans, such as the *Lūdāmbā*, erect close to their dwellings a miniature hut or *kūmbā* to serve as a spirit-hut (*bōṅgā-kūmbā*). In this hut there is a small bamboo-box called *bōṅgā-peṭi* or spirit-box in which a little *āruā* rice in a small bamboo-tube, a little vermilion, and other *pujā* requisites are kept. Some clans have also their *thāns*, or spirit-seats, adjoining the settlement, where lumps of clay, pieces of stone, and wooden pegs represent the tutelary spirits of the clan. These spirits receive sacrifices of fowls and goats

as occasion arises. These will be described in a future paper. By the side of a *Jāghi* settlement is a sacred "grove" called "*Jilu jāyer*" marked by one or more trees and a few blocks of stone. This is the seat of the *Sendra-bōngās* or deities, or rather spirits, of the hunt, and there before every important hunting expedition, the nets of all the hunters are placed in a heap and fowls are sacrificed before them, and, after the party return home, here they cut and dress and divide the game. The Uṭhlus, too, select a suitable tree near their camps to mark their *Jilu-jāyer* during their stay at any particular place. Although there are no fences round the *Jāghi* houses nor any compounds, there is generally a small open space in front of each house.

At one end of each *ṭāṇḍā* of the *Jāghis* as well as the Uṭhlūs there is a *giti-orā* or sleeping-hut exclusively used by the young bachelors of the settlement. The young maidens sleep with some old widow in a similar hut, usually at some distance from the boys' *giti-orā*. Although outwardly a strict moral discipline appears to be maintained in these dormitories, closer investigation reveals the existence among their inmates of universal laxity of morals according to the civilized standard.⁽¹⁾

Except the annual Spring Hunt, or a wedding in some comparatively well-off family, or a *panchayat* convened to punish some serious social offence, when the men of a number of *ṭāṇḍās* living within an easy distance of one another are invited to take part, there is hardly any occasion when a number of these scattered groups or *ṭāṇḍās* come together. The different clans of the tribe hang together loosely as so many inter-marrying groups with a tradition of common descent, talking the same language, following the same pursuits, and agreeing in substance but often differing in details, in their social and domestic customs and usages, and in their religious and magico-religious rites and observances.

IV.—THE DAILY LIFE OF THE BIRHORS.

The men rise from their *béd* at cock-crow and begin to wind *chōp* fibre made out of bark of the *Bahunia*

(1) In a few degenerate *ṭāṇḍās*, however, I have missed both the *Jilu jāyer* and the *giti-orā*.



Plate I.

A Birhor twisting rope in front of his leaf huts. The forked wood planted in the ground is the *honod* and the short stick in his hand is the *chuteli*.





Plate II.

A group of Birhors in front of their hut roofed over with leaves and branches of trees. In front of the little boys is a strip of palm-leaf mat in course of preparation.

scandens creepers collected the previous day and soaked in water and split into fibre the previous evening. Then they unite the strands by twisting (*uin*) them round each other, and tighten (*paina*) them with the help of the *chuteili* stick. The women generally rise a little later, but before sunrise, and assist the men in making ropes. When daylight appears the women go to attend to household work and the men smooth (*hōt*) the ropes with the *honod* which is a forked piece of wood. With the ropes thus made the men go on preparing tethers for cattle and *sikās* or carrying-nets. The men work at these until about 8 a.m., when they clean their teeth with a small twig known as *dātun*, wash their faces and have their morning meal either of rice and pot-herb (*sāg*) or of boiled corollas of the *mahuā* flowers. Neither men nor women take a daily bath, but all generally bathe once or twice a week. It is only at these baths and at the end of a ceremonial pollution that they wash their scanty clothes. The men ordinarily wear a *bhāgoa*, or short narrow strip of cloth, one end of which is wrapped round the waist, the other end being passed between the thighs and attached to the part which serves as the waist-band; and the women wear a broader waist-cloth known as the *lāhāngā*.

After breakfast the men go to the woods either to hunt or to collect *chōp*. The women sweep the huts in the morning, cleanse the utensils, if any, fetch water from some spring or stream, and cook the morning meal. They take their meals after the men have taken theirs. Then they either go to the jungles to collect *mahuā* flowers or some edible leaves, yams, and tubers, or go to the neighbouring markets or villages if there are ropes and *sikās* to sell. If there is more than one woman in the house, those that remain at home twist ropes or weave *sikās*. Children, from about the tenth or eleventh year of their life, generally help their parents in making ropes.

The majority of the Birhōrs live from hand to mouth. When after an unsuccessful hunt or a fruitless search for *chōp* creepers a Birhōr sees no prospect of having other food

for the following day, his wife or daughter gathers *piska* yams, boils them in water, peels them and then leaves them for the night in some stream of flowing water so as to remove the acidity. In the morning it is brought home, boiled again in water, pounded and eaten. These yams are available in January and February and also in July and August. On my arrival in April last at a settlement consisting of only four Jāghi families, I learnt that two of the families had had little or nothing to eat for a day and a half as all the *chōp* the men of the four families had collected a day or two earlier together with their axes had been forcibly snatched away from them by an overzealous servant of the owner of the jungle where they had been to collect *chōp*, and thus they had no ropes to sell.

When the men return home, generally late in the afternoon, with *chōp* creepers, each family leave their *chōp* immersed in the water of some pool or stream for about an hour and then take them home. After their evening meal the men split the *chōp* stems (*bayārs*) into strands, and then they all go to sleep. In winter months they kindle a fire in the middle of the hut-floor, and the family sleep around it. Fire, it may be mentioned, is always made by friction with two pieces of wood or bamboo.

From October to May, the men go out on hunting excursions or collect *chōp* or gather honey, when available; and the women gather *mahuā* fruit and flowers and collect yams and tubers in their respective seasons. This is indeed the brightest season of the year for the Birhōr; and it is now that the dull daily routine of life is from time to time broken by weddings and other festivities, for which large quantities of *ili* or rice-beer are requisitioned.

In June, July and August, the few Jāghi Birhōrs, who have cultivable fields, attend to their cultivation, and the *Uṭhlūs*, who at this season camp at some selected spot, as well as the landless Jāghis make wooden cups and bowls which they exchange for grain or sell for cash in the neighbouring villages and buy rice or other grain with the sale-proceeds of these things, as also



Plate III.

Birhors going out to hunt. The young man on the left is carrying a hunting-net slung on a stick across his shoulder.

with any money they may have saved out of the sale-proceeds of game in the winter and summer months. Their women sometimes work on wages at transplanting paddy seedlings on the fields of people in the neighbouring villages. In September men again begin to gather *chōp* and make ropes and *sikās* or carrying-nets, and their women take them to the neighbouring villages for sale or exchange. Hunting-nets are also made at this time for use in the coming season, and occasionally for sale to Orāons and others. From September to November, *Uḥlū* as well as *Jāghī* women occasionally gather leaves of a kind of wild date-palm, which they call *kitā* (*Phoenix sylvestris*) and plait bed mats with them when they have no *chōp* fibres to twist.

Thus the few elementary arts and crafts that the Birhōrs have acquired or invented, though not wholly determined by their physical environment, have been greatly favoured by it. Again, in order to sell their humble manufactures of wood and rope-fibres, and to buy their scanty clothing and tinsel ornaments, their iron tools and weapons, their earthen pots and such humble condiments as salt and pepper, all Birhōrs—*Jāghī* as well as *Uḥlū*—necessarily come in contact with other tribes and castes in the open valleys near their native hills and jungles. And in the rainy months their women often work in the neighbouring villages as field-labourers in company with labourers of other castes and tribes. Among the *Jāghis*, again, some comparatively more intelligent and well-to-do people amongst them enter into ceremonial friendship with men of other castes and tribes inhabiting the neighbouring villages. The inevitable influence of such contact with comparatively superior but mostly analogous culture may be traced in the manners, customs, beliefs and practices, and even in the vocabulary, folk-lore and songs of the Birhōrs. But, however much their physical and social environment may have influenced Birhōr life, the vital elements of their culture, their totemistic social structure and animistic

religious system are in their essentials a genuine product of the race.

V.—RACE AND LANGUAGE.

Ethnically the Birhōrs belong to the same dark-skinned

Race.

(*melanous*), short-statured, long-headed (*doli-cocephalic*), wavy haired (*cymotrichous*), and broad-nosed (*platyrrhine*) race to which the Mundās, the Santāls, the Bhumij, the Hōs and other allied tribes belong, and like those tribes the Birhōrs speak a language belonging to the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric linguistic family which extends through Indonesia and Melanesia to Polynesia.

According to Sir George Grierson, the Birhōr dialect is

Language.

more closely connected with Muṇḍāri than with Santāli. Indeed, I have heard some Muṇḍās of Rānchi naming the Birhōrs as 'Bir Muṇḍās' or 'Jungle Muṇḍās'. But, on the other hand, some Birhōrs themselves told me that they are nearer kinsmen to the Santāls than to the Muṇḍās though they could give no reasons for this assertion. And in the dialect spoken even by the Rānchi Birhōrs, although it is more closely connected with Muṇḍāri than with Santāli, one cannot help noticing a few peculiarities that occur only in Santāli and not in Muṇḍāri, although curiously enough some of them occur in the corrupt dialect used by the Muṇḍāri-speaking Orāons of the Rānchi thānā. Thus, the very name hōr (man) in the compound Bir-hōr is also the Santāli form of Muṇḍāri hōrō. Again the insertion of an 'h' sound after the 'a' sound in certain words is characteristic of Santāli rather than Muṇḍāri. Thus, Muṇḍāri 'tāike-nāing' (I remained) becomes *takekanāing* in Santāli and *tāhi-kanāing* in Birhōr as also in the corrupt Muṇḍāri dialect used by some Orāons of the Rānchi thānā; so again 'tising' which is the Muṇḍāri word for 'to-day' appears as 'tiking' in Birhōr,

and as *teheng* in Santālī. The census figures for Birhōrs in 1911 are as follows:—

BIRHORS IN 1911.

	Total Population.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4
Hindu	1,941	938	1,003
Animist	1,144	551	593
Total for India ...	3,085	1,489	1,596
Bihār and Orissā ..	2,340	1,104	1,236
Elsewhere	745	385	360
Total	3,085	1,489	1,596

Of these Chotā Nāgpur claims 2,130 (namely, 1,000 males and 1,130 females) distributed as follows:—

Hāzāribāgh	1,024
Rānchi	927
Palamau	27
Mānbhūm	104
Singhbhūm	48

VII.—A Persian Poet of the Shāhābād district.

By Saiyid Wasi Ahmed Bilgrami, B.A.

MIR IMÂMI: Born at Koāth in the Shahabad (or Arrah) district in Mohurruṃ 1212 A. H. (the month of the Imāms), he was called Imāmi. His father, Mir Iftikhar Ali Bilgrami, who under the pen-name of "Zarra" (atom) has left behind a Persian Diwān, gave him the best available education in literature, theology, and medicine. Then he was sent to join Maulvi Waliullah's Madrasa at Furrukhabad. Mir Imāmi's cousin and boon-companion was the illustrious Hazrat Shah Sahib Alum Bilgrami of Mārahra (United Province) whom Ghālīb acknowledged as his spiritual guide in a number of letters addressed to him in Urdu-i-Muallah. On his mother's side, Imāmi traced his lineage from the celebrated Bilgrami poets, Allāmā Syed Abdul Jalil, and Hussānul-Hind Mir Ghulam Ali Azād, as he himself boasts:—

- (1) The bubble of Abdul Jalil's ocean I am;
It is a bold testimony that I am Kāuser-like (of purest water or lineage; kāuser being a fountain in Moham-med's Paradise).
- (2) My house situated at Bilgrām
Belongs to the same eminent (personage).

The poem, *Shorish-i-Ishq*, was Imāmi's maiden attempt at the age of 23 in A.H. 1235. Then followed *Samar-i-Murād* (A. H. 1248) and a volume of Persian lyrics. Critics say that Imāmi's poetic flights remind one of Saeb, Naziri, and Ghanimat. Towards the sunset of his life, his mind became deranged, but the sparks of poetry were all along alive in him. He died at the age of 62 in A.H. 1274, leaving behind an only son, Mir Quwwat Ali, "Shorish", who had versatile studies and was the author of an

Urdu Diwân, a treatise on Prosody (tausi-ul-Qawâfi) and a number of original works [1] on Islâmic theology. In order that the deceased poet's memory may not die out, his great-grandson, now a boy of 5, has been named Imâmi.

His first work, *Shorish-i-Ishq*, was printed in 1295 A.H. at the Nurul-anwâr Press, Arrah, and covers 28 pages. His later and more mature poem, *Samar-i-Murâd*, exists as a MS. in the Khuda Bakhsh Library. It has, unfortunately, been very incorrectly named and described in Khan Sahib A. Muqtadir's Catalogue of that Library, Vol. III, page 265 (MS. No. 437, Persian Poetry), as I shall show below.

To quote the exact words of the cataloguer, it is "a poem, in the metre of Jâmi's Yousuf Zalikha, dealing with the love adventures of a youth, who in course of a voyage after suffering shipwreck reached an island, and there fell in love with a damsel,—by an anonymous author. Beginning:—

لوايم خامه و لفظ است لشکر *
به ميدان امدم الله اکبر *

"My pen is the banner, and word the army ;

To the field (of Poetry) I have come : God is Great [2] !!"

The name of the poem occurs as *Shorish-i-Ishq* at the end of the poem. The date of composition, A.H. 1248, A.D. 1832, is expressed by several chronograms at the end. The story itself begins on fol. 7^a:—

بصورت مرغ شاخ خوش بیانی *
چنین زد رقص طاؤس معانی *

[1] Seven in number. (1) *Mirat-ut-tahqiq*. (2) *Lamat-ul-uqul*. (3) *Tambihat-ul-uqul*. (4) *Manazerul-Nâzirin*. (5) *Jâal-Haq*. (6) *Zahaqal-Bâtil*. (7) *Falsafa-tul-Kalam* (a MS. in 800 pages).

[2] The expression, *Alla-ho-Akbar*, though used as a *tachir* or battle-cry here may also allude to a *hill* near Shirâz, whence flows the water of sweet *Rukhnabâd*—a river immortalized by the verses of Hafiz Shirazi.

The first hemistich has been criticized and corrected by the poet's cousin, Hazrat Sahib Alum of Marahra, thus ; "Lawayam khama o a/fa^z lashkar" on the ground that 'lashkar' or army has a collective and plural sense, whereas 'lafz' or word is in the singular number. But Imâmi's retort is that the word لفظ in itself presents the appearance of a compact body of troops. "ل" is the vanguard, "ن" the centre, and "ظ" the rear-guard.

But the true facts about the MS. are quite different from what is stated above. (i) The MS. 437 is not by an anonymous author. (ii) It is not entitled *Shorish-i-Ishq*.

(i) The authorship.—In the above MS., the poetic pen-name, *Imâmi*, occurs in red ink alone as many as ten times, as if to show that the book is not without an amount of life-blood in its veins. The chronograms at the end (alluded to by the eataloguer) happily says in no equivocal terms that the poem owes its birth to *Mir Imâmi Bilgrami*.

On fol. 58^a, the MS. concludes with the author's prayer :—
O God ! A look of compassion on *Imâmi*,

By *Ahmad*, the star of exalted seat (i.e., the Great Prophet).

On fol. 61^b, we have the date of composition by *Anwar Ali*,
Yâs, of *Arrah* :—

As the year of its conclusion, my heart, O *Yas*,

"The Strength of *Imâmi's* pen", found out. [3]

(ii) The title of the poem. Again, the very title of the MS. is wrongly given. *Shorish Ishq* is quite another *Masnavi*, and should not be confounded with MS. 437. The former, beginning with the verse

Come ! O ye my sweet-tongued pen !

Come ! O ye my nightingale of *Ind* !

deals with the adventures of an Arab poet, *Asmai*, on his way to *Mecca*, whose main story [4] opens with the couplet :

Born in *Arabia*, a magic-worker, (in Poetry) called *Asmai* ;

The palate of eloquence watered with honey at (the mention
of) whose name !

[3] Cf.

سال اتمام آن دل من یاس *

طاقت حامد اعصابی گشت *

Here "*taqat-i-khamila-i-Imâmi*" gives the year, A.H. 1248.

[4] There is also a poem, embodying the same story by *Shaikh Ali Hazin* in one thousand verses. *Hazin* is ranked with *Ghâlib*, *Khusro*, *Bedil* and *Azad Bilgrami* among the classical poets of *India*.

He lies buried at *Benares*.

The chronogram by Mir Mohammed Askari on fol. 58^b of the K. B. MS. 437, distinctly says :—

پند نام مثنویش چو به شاخ فکر رفتیم

نمر مراد نامش شده سبز از زیاتم

“When for his Masnavi’s name, to fancy’s bough I went :

The name, Samar-i-Murad, (Ambition’s fruit) became green
on my tongue !”

Mir Askari was Imâmi’s uncle, for which reason the name suggested was adopted by the nephew for his poem. Thus Samar-i-Murâd, and not Shorish-i-Ishq is the correct title of MS. 437. On fol. 59^a, line 8, whence the cataloguer’s mistake originated, the verse

چو بستم نقش نظم شرش عشق

کشیدم جام بزم شرش عشق

has a marginal note, in red ink, attached to it, which reads thus :

نام مثنوی اول مصنف که در حال اسمعی شاعر عرب است

that is, “it is the name of the author’s *first* Masnavi dealing with the story of the Arab poet, Asmai.”

The word *in italics* is suggestive. The MS. under review, then, must be a *second* Masnavi, and must have *another* title. It is as well obvious that the theme of the two poems, Shorish-i-Ishq and the MS. 437 (or Samâr-i-Murâd) is not one and the same. The former introduces to us an Arab poet, deciphering verses on a stone-slab in a desert; — whereas the latter speaks of “the love-adventures of a youth who in course of a voyage after suffering shipwreck, reached an island, and there fell in love with a damsel.” There are altogether 16 chapters in ‘shorish’ or the desert-story, as against 36 in ‘Samar’ or the shipwreck-romance. A comparison of the headings of the main stories of the two

poems is given below as a conclusive proof that the MS. in question is not Shorish-i-Ishq but Samâr-i-Murâd.

Shorish-i-Ishq.	MS. 437, or Samâr-i-Murâd.
5. The love-story narrated by Asmai commences.	5. The thread of romance is taken up.
6. He happens to pass by a stone containing some verses.	6. The hero with his companions starts on a journey by land and water.
7. He retorts by writing verses on the stone.	7. The ship described.
8. He comes to the same spot a second time only to find another set of verses.	<p>8. An invisible Voice speaks :— “And whoso feareth God, unto him will he grant a happy issue out of all his afflictions, and He will bestow on him an ample provision from whence he expecteth it not; and whoso trusteth in God, He will be his sufficient support; for God will surely attain His purpose. Now hath God appointed unto everything a determined period.”</p> <p>The hero, taking this voice as a mandate from God, throws away his coins into water. His companions take it as a wind-cry.</p>
9. He extemporizes another verse in reply.	9. A parenthetical chapter: the method of being benefited by the above Korânic verses.

Shorish-i-Ishq.	MS. 437, or Sam'ar-i-Murád.
<p>10. He, then, starts in quest of the love-sick youth who had written verses.</p> <p>11. He comes to the same stone and finds the youth lifeless.</p> <p>12. Who leaves behind a third set of verses on the stone.</p> <p>13. Verses addressed to Asmai.</p> <p>14. Asmai interns the corpse</p> <p>15. The story concludes with Imami's prayer to God.</p>	<p>10. The hero's companions are led by a love of money to disobey the invisible message. A discourse on religious duties.</p> <p>11. A shipwreck: all go down save the hero, who is cast ashore on a plank.</p> <p>12. The hero reaches an island and finds himself in a garden-like wilderness.</p> <p>13. A lofty mansion: on the terrace is a starry Beauty.</p> <p>14. The hero over head and ears in love.</p> <p>15. The damsel unfolds to the youth her own sad tale.</p> <p>16 to 36. The romance continued.</p>

VIII.—A Lepchā Funeral.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

WHILE staying at Darjeeling during the *Pujā* holidays, I had an opportunity of witnessing a Lepchā funeral. As there are some points of ethnological interest in the rites and ceremonies observed I took down a few notes of what I saw, and on these notes the following brief account is based.

The deceased was the wife of a Lepchā servant in the Roman Catholic convent at Darjeeling. The father of this man was a Lāmā, and consequently the family is of some respectability in the local Lepchā community. In fact, when I first saw the funeral procession coming along the road just below the house where I was staying, I had no idea that the husband of the deceased was in comparatively humble circumstances in life. The bier was covered over with an embroidered shawl and was preceded by a venerable-looking old Lāmā, reciting *mantrams* in Tibetan, ringing a bell with one hand, and holding in the other one end of a long strip of cloth, the other end of which was attached to the bier. Following the bier was a large procession of mourners and a few men playing on drums and cymbals and sounding conch shells. One man was twirling a small prayer wheel (*māni*). The musical instruments were all held aslant and not in the upright position in which they are ordinarily carried by the musicians. This, I was told, indicated that it was an occasion of mourning. The mourners now and again took up the refrain of the Lāmā's *mantrams*. This refrain consisted in the well-known *mantram* of the Buddhists "*Om ! Māni pa [d] mē hūm*".

Thus the procession went on for about two miles along the West Mall and the Old Calcutta Road, and finally we began to climb up a steep slope of the Jalāpāhār Hill. At about half-way

up the slope, the procession halted, and I observed a number of Lepchā women carrying jars of māṛuā-beer come up by another route and join the party. The bier was put down on the ground and most of the men sat down for a while to rest. The women were in the meanwhile busy, some distributing glasses of beer to the men and others collecting dried leaves and kindling a fire. The relatives of the deceased selected a site for the grave by the side of the other graves of the family, the deceased's husband's brother now first applied his spade to the ground thus selected. I was told that according to Lepchā custom the son or brother or other near kinsman of the deceased must dig out three spadefuls of earth before others would join in digging the grave. The height of the bier was measured with a stick so as to adjust the depth of the grave accordingly. As some of the men went on digging the grave, others, men as well as women, were busy collecting pieces of stone and placing them by the side of the grave. All the time the Lāmā went on chanting in Tibetan what I was told were long addresses to the spirit of the deceased. The refrain of "*Om! Māni pa [d] mē hūm*" being now and again taken up by the other men. The Lāmā as well as the grave-diggers and other members of the party were now and again regaled with copious draughts of māṛuā-beer served by the women. When the digging was in progress I noticed the men frequently expressing satisfaction with what they saw, and on enquiry I learnt that what made them rejoice was the absence of any stones (*lōng*) in the grave. If they had come upon any stones, it would have indicated that the deceased had died before the length of life allotted to her by Heaven, so that some human being must have caused the death by charms or sorcery.

When they had dug a grave of the dimensions required, and spread out a layer of stones at the bottom by way of a flooring to the grave, a ceremonial glass of māṛuā-beer was handed over to each of the persons present. (I was excused on my assuring them that I was not accustomed to spirituous drink of any sort.) The drinking of this cup of beer is taken as a solemn undertaking to recite the mystic *mantram* "*Om Māni pa [d] mē hūm*" for the

benefit of the soul of the deceased. Friends and relatives now took a last look at the face of the deceased, by slightly drawing aside the cloth-covering over the bier. This partial lifting of the curtain showed that the deceased was placed over the bier in a sitting posture, and that a silver coin had been already put into the mouth of the deceased. The bier was first taken three times round the grave and finally lowered into the grave, the Lāmā all the while chanting his *mantrams* and the men chanting the refrain of “*Om Māniḥpa [ḥ] mē hūm*” in a chorus. At each of the four corners of the grave, a long split bamboo was vertically inserted before the bier was let down. Over the bier was placed first a layer of stones, then a layer of earth, and again a layer of stones and over it another layer of earth and then a final layer of stones over which a longish stone was placed in an upright position. This upright stone indicated that the corpse was interred in a sitting posture. On inquiry I learnt that in some families the corpse was laid down in the grave in a lying posture and in those cases the uppermost stone was laid flat on the grave. Such stones on a number of graves close by were pointed out to me in proof of this statement. Another symbolic representation was a *lenjed* or thread-twister placed over the grave to indicate that the grave was that of a female, thread-twisting and weaving being the habitual occupation of a Lepchā female. Similarly, I was told a bow and an arrow are placed over the grave of a Lepchā male. Flowers were now strewn over the grave and a meal of boiled rice, stewed beef, and boiled *māruā* (*Eleusine Coracana*) was placed over the grave on a leaf-plate. A portion of this food, I must not omit to mention, was already burnt near the grave with fire lighted with dried leaves collected by the women who attended the funeral. Finally the four bamboo splinters that had been inserted into the grave at its corners were pulled out of the grave by men credited with a knowledge of charms and spells. A person skilled in magic lore is called ‘bung-thingbu’ if a male, and ‘mon’ if a female. The reason for first inserting and then taking out these long bamboo splinters was explained to me by the assembled Lepchās as a precaution to

prevent the soul of the deceased from retaining in the grave the soul of any one present whom she particularly loved on earth. It is also worth mentioning that the Lepchā takes particular care to see that no green leaf or stone gets buried with the earth with which the grave is filled in, for such green leaf or piece of stone would stand in the way of the soul when it may be required to go to *Yama*, the god of death, or to other worlds.

From the burial place most of the party returned to the house where the death occurred, and I accompanied them. Outside the house every one who had been present at the funeral was at first thoroughly fumigated with the smoke of a fire in which a species of bitter plant was burnt. Each of them had next to present himself before a 'mon', or female exorcist, who was standing there with a live fowl in one hand and a kind of tall bamboo-grass in the other. The 'mon' made passes over the body of each with the fowl and the bamboo-grass. Then the fowl was killed by being struck against the ground and was thrown away outside the house. Finally, māṛuā beer was served in bamboo-tubes to those who attended the funeral and a meal was also provided for them.

Two days later a more imposing ceremony of driving away the evil spirit was performed in the house. The whole afternoon the inmates of the house were busy arranging the room where the ceremony was to take place, kneading flour and making various small figures of flour-dough resembling men and animals, and scrubbing a large number of ceremonial brass lamps and arranging them in several rows tier above tier. By evening the old Lāmā, with an assistant Lāmā and two disciples, took their seats in front of the rows of lamps, an elderly relative sat on the left of the rows of lamps, and close to him sat the husband of the deceased; important guests were given prominent seats and other guests were seated as best as they could in and outside the room. Many of them did not wait long in the room, but were soon replaced by others. Fortunately I was given a prominent seat from which I could see every part of the ceremonies. The Lāmā and his disciples went on chanting interminable chapter after chapter from a manuscript book which, I was told, was

known as the "Mellom". The chanting was frequently punctuated by a chorus of the mystic *mantram* "*Om Māni pa [d] mē hūm*" and by music of drums, cymbals, and conch-shells, and by a peculiar shrill whistling sound made by some of the men. At frequent intervals the Lāmās and the guests were drinking or rather sucking māpuā-beer with hollow reeds from bamboo-tubes placed before them. As each guest arrived, he made a cash present of from one or two annas to eight annas, and a man went on noting the names and amounts on a slip of paper. As each guest paid his quota, he was asked to light one or two of the 152 lamps, and the man sitting on the left of the ceremonial lamps delivered a harangue which, I was told, was meant to inform the soul of the deceased that such and such a friend or relative was come to pray for her soul and light her path to the other world. Each man bowed before the lamps after he had lighted one or more of them. I made a present of a rupee and was given the privilege of lighting two of the lamps for the benefit of the soul of the dead woman. After the chanting of chapters from the "Mellom", some of which, I was told, were addressed to the soul of the dead telling her that her friends and relatives had done all they could for her, but could not save her life, and bidding her not to grieve over her condition, nor to afflict the living but to follow the 'Law', and so forth. All the time the husband of the deceased was frequently bowing low to the soul of the dead, and I was told this was done by way of supplication to the soul of the deceased not to be angry with him or do any harm to him or to other surviving members of the family.

Now came the most exciting part of the ceremonies. Two persons carried into the room a large wooden plank on which were placed a few twigs representing a jungle and a number of miniature animal figures representing the denizens of the jungles. and in the centre was prominently placed a life-sized model of a cat. There were also one or two miniature human figures arranged on the plank. The figure of the cat in the centre was meant for seating the evil spirit which caused the death of the deceased person and must have been obstructing

the passage of the soul of the deceased to the other world. It was intended that the evil spirit might lose its way in the jungle represented by the twigs and thus be unable to pursue the soul of the deceased. A number of pebbles coated with delicious grains were laid on the plank by way of food for the evil spirit. The Lāmā and his assistant and disciples now chanted song after song meant to allure the evil spirit by promises of tempting viands laid out for him. Some men were enthusiastically playing upon drums and cymbals and blowing conch-shells and one or two men were uttering a kind of peculiarly shrill musical sound by whistling. Suddenly the people became excited, and I was told that the evil spirit had arrived and was seated on the cat. The sound of music redoubled in shrillness. A number of men began to pelt grains and stones at the figures of animals on the plank. Some people drew out their swords which they brandished over the figures. Then the plank was taken up, and as it was being carried out of the house, the men followed it with frantic yells and some hit the figures with their sticks. When the plank was carried to an open space outside the house, burning torches were applied to the figures until they were all burnt to ashes. Thus was the soul of the deceased saved from pursuit by the evil spirit which killed her. Then we all went back to the room, and as we approached the door of the room, some women sprinkled us profusely with water so as to remove from us all evil influences that we might have contracted from contact with the evil spirit. Then food was laid out for the soul of the deceased and further chanting of *mantrams* concluded the ceremony.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. Relics of the Copper Age found in Chota Nagpur.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

THE earliest discovery of ancient copper articles in Chōtā Nagpur appears to have been made in the year 1870 in the Giridih (then Pachambā) subdivision of the Hāzāribāgh district. These consisted of five rough and unfinished copper celts of which four are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹ The next find was that of a great cache of copper implements in the neighbourhood of the old Bargunda copper mine in the Hāzāribāgh district.¹ A broad heavy copper axe-head and a large copper armlet from this find came to the hands of the late Mr. Robert Bruce Foote in 1887, and was figured (figures 4106 and 4107 of Plate 19) and described by him in Vol. I (page 164) of "The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities" (Madras, 1916).

The next discovery was that of a copper axe-head found in September 1910 at village Saguna, thana Patan in the Palāmau district. This axe subsequently came to the hands of His Honour the President of the Society and was described at page 126, Vol. I, Part I of this Journal. Next in point of time was a find of twenty-one copper axe-heads of the same pattern as the Palāmau axe. This was discovered in 1915 at village Bartola in the Basia thānā of the Rānchi district and described at pages 127-128, Vol. I, Part I of this Journal.

Several years ago some copper axe-heads from the Mānbhum district accidentally came into the hands of the Hon'ble and

¹ Vide *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1871, pages 231-234 and Anderson's *Catalogue*, Part II, pages 392-395.

Rev. Dr. A. Campbell who, being then unaware of their nature, put them by until last year when he saw the collection made by our Society and became aware of their importance and readily presented the Society with a few specimens. These were described at pages 85-6, Vol. II, Part I of this Journal.

A solitary copper axe-head of the same class as the Basia celts lay unheeded among a collection of mineral samples in the possession of Mr. P. N. Bose, late of the Geological Survey of India, and I secured it from him last year for the Society.

In the Khūṇṭi subdivision of the Rānchi district I found, in October 1915, two copper axe-heads which have been described at pages 239 and 242, Vol. I, Part II of this Journal. We next secured three copper battle-axes of a shape hitherto unknown which recently came to the hands of Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay. These were found in the Mayurbhanj State of Orissa and were described in the last number of this Journal (pp. 386-7).

The latest discovery of copper celts was made a few months ago at village Hāmi in the Palāmau district and was brought to my notice by my esteemed friend the Rev. Father Ernes, who is a Member of the Society. From the description given by Father Ernes in his letter we had little difficulty in concluding that they must be copper celts; and through the kind offices of the authorities the whole lot was secured. They consist of six copper axe-heads and seventeen copper bar-celts which lay buried together on the bank of a small river.

Of the seventeen bar-celts, the longest measures 2 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, the shortest 1 foot 3 inches in length, and the rest are of various lengths from 1 foot 8 inches to 1 foot 4 inches. The blade in each of these celts is crescentic in shape, being formed by the upper face gradually sloping to an edge, and varies in length from half an inch to an inch. The greatest breadth is invariably at the edge, each celt tapering to a narrow rounded butt end. The axe-heads are similar in shape to the Basia axe-heads described in Vol. I, Part I, and on an average are of about the same dimensions, Mr. J. Coggin-Brown, to

whom His Honour the President forwarded the celts for examination, writes :—

“The type of implements is a curious one but it is not unique. There are four examples of the same sort of thing in the Indian Museum—long ‘bar celts’ resembling huge chisels in form, with expanded lunette heads. One surface of these implements is convex and the other markedly concave, though as far as I remember on a much smaller scale than the example you send. They are from Gungeria in the Balaghat district of the Central Provinces and were found in 1870. Like your specimen their sides very gradually diverge and then expand suddenly into the edge. As far as I know, this is the second recorded occurrence of these types in India and I regard them as authentic copper-age pieces.

“I must confess that I do not know what use they were put to, and speculation does not fit in with all their peculiar characteristics. In my catalogue of the Calcutta collection I see the following note : ‘This instrument may have been used as a weapon, and if so, it was probably hafted by being passed through a wooden handle and secured by a ligature’. It seems just as likely that they were put to more peaceful uses, such as the pickaxes as you suggest.”

No crucibles or moulds or other traces of any workshop for the manufacture of these articles have been discovered in the neighbourhood. There are no traditions in the locality as to who made them or how they came to be buried there.

Some copper ornaments that I discovered in ancient graves in the Rānchi district have been described in Vol. I, Part II (pp. 236, 238, 245, 248) of the Journal. We are thus in possession now of evidence for the past existence of a Copper Age culture in all the districts of the Chōtā Nāgpur Division. Tradition in the Rānchi district attributes these relics of the copper age to an ancient people now extinct who are styled the Asurās and to whom tradition assigns the credit of having introduced the art of smelting iron in the Rānchi district,

Evidence in the shape of remains of smelting places and slags of iron, ornaments, implements and vessels made of copper, foundations of extraordinarily large but comparatively thin bricks, remains of pottery and burial urns, is gradually accumulating, and would seem to bear out the Munda tradition of the previous occupation of a large portion, if not the whole, of the Ranchi district by an ancient people who made and used copper and subsequently iron, and who had evolved a comparatively much higher culture than the Mundas who claim to have ousted them.



Bronze.

II. A Find of Ancient Bronze Articles in the Ranchi District.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

OBJECTS of stone, copper and iron are not the only relics of earlier human culture found in the Chōtā Nāgpur Division. Some ancient bronze articles have been recently unearthed in the Rānchi District. This remarkable find consists of one large copper *hāṇḍī*, a number of bronze bells, besides a few bowls and plates made of bronze.

A client of mine of the name of Ramāi Orāon and his son Etwā Orāon while levelling a plot of upland in village Baheā, about thirteen miles to the east of Rānchi, found these articles at a depth of a foot or so below the surface. The plates and bowls were found in an earthen jar (*ghara*) and the other articles were found embedded in the ground about three feet away from the former. The illustration on the opposite page shows the big copper *hāṇḍī*, one bronze bowl and two bronze bells.

The field on which they were found forms part of a large plot of upland, measuring about three acres, which slopes towards the south into a hill-stream locally called Chāṇḍī-gārhā. The land was up till recently covered over with jungle mostly of *sāl* trees, and the solitary trunk of an old *sāl* tree is still left to mark the spot, towards the south-west of the field, where the bronze articles were found. *Sāl* jungles still form the northern and eastern boundaries of the land. I had excavations made in the field but nothing whatsoever could be found except some small bits of old potsherds and a few lumps of *gūlthā* or earth burnt red which might not improbably have been fragments of an oven or smelting-place for metal. To the north-west of the land a cultivator of the name of Totā Orāon, while clearing the jungle and digging the earth with a view to

convert the land into a cultivable field, dug out an earthenware *gharā* containing human bones and closed up with an earthen bowl in the manner in which cinerary urns attributed to the Asurs of Muṇḍā tradition are closed up. The man had thrown away the *gharā* as useless and it got smashed into pieces. But the site occupied by the *gharā* could still be made out, when I visited the place, by the gap of the shape of a *gharā* left in the soil by the urn. I had a portion of this plot of land dug up but no more cinerary urns could be found.

The only other thing I secured in this village that is of some interest from the point of view of prehistoric archæology, is a stone celt of a rather unusual type. This appears to be a flake chipped into shape and probably used either as a child's knife or for ceremonial purposes. It is an unusually thin triangular celt made of schistose rock, measuring only two inches in length, one inch wide at the edge and half an inch at the butt end. One of the faces is perfectly flat but bevelled slightly to form the blade, which is rounded. The other face is distinctly convex with a ridge at the middle running from butt to edge and from this ridge the chipped convex face slopes towards each side.

Mr. Coggin-Brown, to whom some of the bronze articles were sent for examination, writes : —

“I have carefully examined the metal articles sent under cover of your letter dated the 22nd June 1916 and have come to the conclusion that they probably belong to the historical period. At any rate I have never seen any Indian Copper Age remains like them. The metal used in casting the bells and the large bowl seems to be an alloy—a bronze of some kind, but this can only be settled by the chemical analysis of a fragment from them. They are beautiful objects of their kind and are probably of considerable interest from the historical point of view. I would suggest their examination by some member of the Archæological Survey before they are stored in your Museum. If the large bowl is bronze it suggests a resemblance with some of the bronze remains of South Indian cemeteries, but the age of these

bronzes has not been determined and they are supposed to be importations from abroad."

The present residents of village Baheā are a few families of Mundās and Orāons who are all comparatively recent settlers, the oldest family having migrated into the village only three or four generations ago. Before them it is said the village was inhabited by some semi-aboriginal Bhogtās whose families have been since extinct. There is no tradition in the village as to who made and used these vessels and how they came to be there. It may be noted that I have heard of finds of similar articles in a few more villages in the Rānchi district, but unfortunately have not yet been able to get hold of any one of them. A few plates and anklets found by the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. Campbell in the Mānbhum district appear to be made of the same metal as those unearthed at Baheā.

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